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FURTHER SOURCES
OF
VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY

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BY

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OF

VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY

VOL. I

INTRODUCTION

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కృతి సమర్పణము

ప్రబలరాజాధిరాజ వీరప్రతాప
రాజపరమేశ్వరార్థ దుర్గానటేశ
సాహితీసమరాంగణసార్వభౌమ
కృష్ణదేవమహారాయ కృతినిగొనుము.

PREFACE.

IN the preface to 'Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagara' by Mr. T. V. Mahalingam (No. 15, Madras University Historical Series), I stated in some detail the work on Vijayanagara History carried on by this department and concluded with the statement 'Further work on the subject is being done and a very considerable collection of further sources of Vijayanagara history is already in the press.'

Experience has shown how useful students find handy collections of source material, and the Sources of Vijayanagara History published in 1919 as the first book in this series has marked a decided step in the advance of knowledge on the subject, particularly relating to Hindu literary sources; which go far to correct one-sided and inaccurate impressions derived from the chronicles of Muslim historians and the records of foreign observers. The detailed examination of the Mackenzie manuscripts undertaken by this department since 1933 showed clearly that there was scope for another collection of extracts on the history of the great empire which forms the last glorious chapter of independent Hindu India in the South.

About 300 extracts have been brought together in the present collection and they are drawn from works in all languages, Sanskrit, Persian, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Tamil and Malayālam. Generally the texts have also been translated fully into English; in some instances, however, a brief summary of the essential details has been considered enough to guide students unable to read the originals. In a comprehensive introduction, which forms the first of the three volumes of this work, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has discussed the historical significance of the extracts and sought to indicate the ways in which our knowledge of the history of Vijayanagara is amplified by the new material now presented.

We offer our thanks to Mr. G. Kalyanasundaram, M.A., Junior Lecturer in Geography, for having drawn the maps that are included in the introductory volume, and Mr. S. Kameswara Rau M.A., Research student in our department, for preparing the index.

Our thanks are due to the Syndicate of the University of Madras for their sanctioning the inclusion of the work in the departmental series.

K. A. N.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

A Little Known Chapter.		A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagara History by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar.
Ām	...	Āmuktamālyada.
ARE	...	Annual Report of Epigraphy, Madras.
ASPP	...	Āndhra Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrika.
ASR		Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
CHI	...	Cambridge History of India.
EC	...	Epigraphia Carnatica.
ED	...	History of India as told by its own Historians by Sir H. M. Elliot and Prof. John Dowson.
EI	...	Epigraphia Indica.
FE	...	The Forgotten Empire by Robert Sewell.
Foreign Notices	...	Foreign Notices of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.
Govt. (Madras) Or. Mss. Lib.		Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
HAS	...	Hyderabad Archaeological Series.
HI	...	Historical Inscriptions by Robert Sewell.
JAHRS	...	Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society.
JASB	...	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS	...	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBHS	...	Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.
JBORS	...	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JOR	...	Journal of Oriental Research.
JRAS	...	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.
LA	...	List of Antiquities by Robert Sewell.
LR	...	Local Records.
Mac. Mss.	...	Mackenzie Manuscripts.
MAR	...	Mysore Archaeological Report.
MER	...	Madras Epigraphy Report.

MGOM ... Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library.

NDI ... Nellore District Inscriptions.

Purchas ... Purchas : His Pilgrims.

QJMS ... Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.

SII ... South Indian Inscriptions.

Sources ... Sources of Vijayanagara History compiled by A. Rangaswami Sarasvati and edited by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar.

STC ... Sivaji Tercentenary Volume.

TAS ... Travancore Archaeological Series.

TDER ... Tirupati Dēvasthānam Epigraphy Report by S. Subrahmanya Sastri.

TTDE ... Tirupati and Tirumalai Dēvasthānam Epigraphical Series

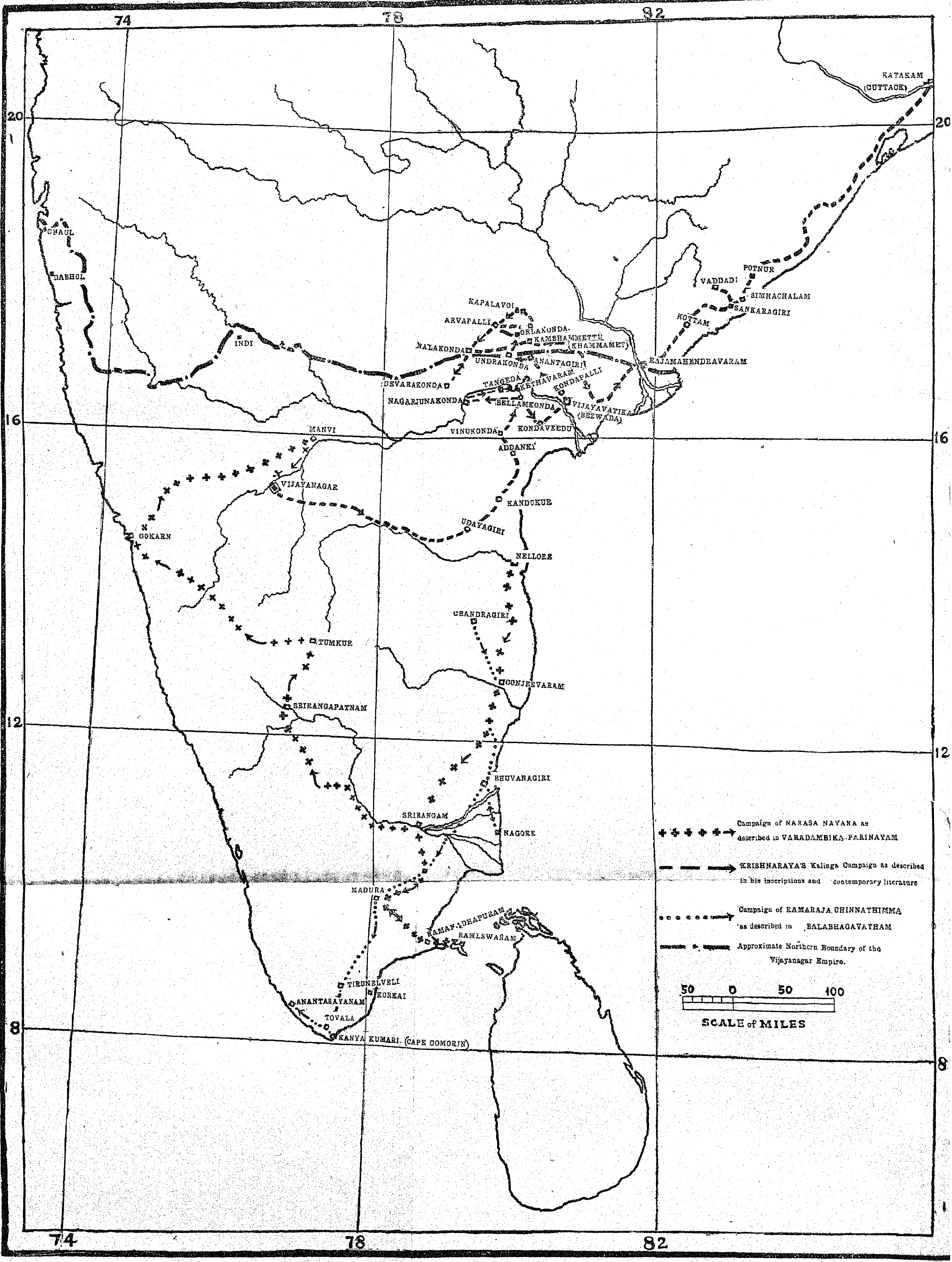
TDI ... Tirupati Dēvasthānam Inscriptions.

The Yet Remembered Ruler. The Yet Remembered Ruler of A Long Forgotten Empire by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar.

Vijayanagara : Third Dynasty. Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara by N. Venkatramanayya.

VR ... Topographical Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency by V. Rangacharya.

EMPIRE OF VIJAYANAGAR



INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

NATURE OF THE SOURCES.

The extracts that are included in the present collection have been drawn from three sources, *viz.*, general literature, chronicles and the Mackenzie Manuscripts. They offer much valuable material which the historian can ill-afford to neglect.

It is generally stated that the Hindus did not cultivate a taste for historical studies, and that they did not produce any historical work. The charge is not entirely groundless. Hindu literature, rich as it is, cannot boast of a work like that of Thucydides, Livy or even Firdausi. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the Hindus produced a species of historical literature which is not without its value to the modern investigator. The *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* (14) which describes within a brief compass the history of the kings of Vijayanagara is a work of this type, and it throws some welcome light on the dark corners of Vijayanagara history. The *Kamparāyacarita*, the *Sāḷuvābhyudaya*, the *Rāyavācaka*, the *Kṛṣṇarāyavijaya*, the *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya*, the *Acyutarāyābhyudaya*, the *Raghunāthābhyudaya* and the *Sāhityaratnākara*, extracts from some of which are included in the present book also belong to this class. Of much less literary value, and in no way more dependable is the Tamil chronicle of *Kongudēśarājākkaḷin-carittiram* or the history of the kings of the Kongu country. Another type of Hindu historiography must be sought in the *praśastis* included in inscriptions recording the pious benefactions which the ancient Hindu monarchs made to religious institutions and Brahmans. There is one unique record of the first quarter of the 15th century which deserves special notice in this context. This charter which was issued by Anitalli, the Reḍḍi queen of Rajahmundry, describes not the history of a dynasty like other inscriptions but that of a country. This charter contains a short history of Telingāṇa from the 13th to the 15th century. It describes the boundaries of the country, its

inhabitants, and its economic condition, before commencing to narrate the main events of its political history. Then it notices briefly, the rule of the Kākatīya monarchs, the Muhammadan conquest, the expulsion of the conquerors, the establishment of a new Hindu kingdom, its dismemberment and the foundation of the Reḍḍi kingdoms of Koṇḍavīḍu and Rajahmundry. It is evident from this brief analysis that Anitalli's charter is indeed a history of Telingāṇa in miniature. The conception of history which the author of this *praśasti* had is surprisingly modern. Unfortunately his example was not followed by the other *praśasti* writers; consequently there is no other charter which bears comparison with it.

Works of general literature often contain data of great value to the student of history. The establishment of a new Hindu kingdom at Vijayanagara coincided with a period of literary revival; and a large volume of literature was produced under the aegis of the Rāyas. The commentaries, *kāvyas*, dramas, farces, and so on contain valuable historical accounts of this kind. Mādhava, Sāyaṇa, Mādhavamantrin, Cauṇḍapa and other commentators describe the origin of the Sangama family and the rule of the early Rāyas. Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita, the court physician of Bukka II, narrates at length the history of his patron's family in the introduction of his *Vaidyarājavallabham* (34-a), a treatise on the Āyurvēda. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa relates briefly the story of the Tuḷuva kings and enumerates the victories of his patron Kṛṣṇadēvarāya in his *Sangītasūryōdayam*, a work on music (116-a). The Gajapati king Pratāparudra gives a short account of his family history in the introduction to his *Sarasvatīvilāsam*, a book on law (89).

It is, however, in the field of vernacular literature, especially Telugu, that this species of historical composition is perfected. The historical introduction made its appearance in Telugu works as early as the age of the Cāḷukyas; but it did not come into vogue until much later. Tikkana who lived during the latter half of the 13th century A.D., is the first Telugu poet to trace the history of his patron's family in the prologue of his poems. He gives a succinct account of the Nellore branch

of the Telugu Cōḍa family in the introduction to his *Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇam.* This plan soon acquired considerable popularity, and introductions describing the history of the patron's family became a normal feature of the literary works of this age. The example of Tikkana was followed by all the subsequent Telugu poets so effectively that Telugu literature has become one of the principal sources of Vijayanagara history. The earliest Telugu writer who was associated with the Rāyas was the poet Nācana Sōmana who lived at the court of Harihara I. Unfortunately, the early books of his poem *Harivaṁśa* have not come down to us; and it is not possible to discover what he said about the history of his patron's family. Vallabharāya, who was a subordinate of Harihara II, gives some interesting information in his *Krīḍābhirāmam* about Bukka I and Harihara II; Jakkana refers to the activities of Dēvarāya I in his *Vikramārkacaritra*; Śrīnātha, the *Vidyādhikāri* at the court of Pedakōmaṭi Vēma, and the author of many of Vēma's inscriptions gives an excellent account of the Reḍḍi kings in the introductions to his *Kāśikhaṇḍam* and *Bhīmakhaṇḍam*; besides, his *cāṭus* contain vignettes of the social life of the citizens of the empire and of the court during the time of Dēvarāya II (60). Pina Vīrabhadra, Singaya and Mallaya, Peddana, Timmana, Kṛṣṇarāya, Ellanārya, Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa, Rangapparāja, Kōnērinātha and others describe the history of the Sāḷuvas, Tuḷuvas and Āravīḍu kings in the introductions to their respective poems. The works of some of these writers are utilised in the present volume.*

*No passage that has already been published in the *Sources of Vijayanagara History* compiled by the late Mr. A. Rangaswamy Saraswati B.A., and edited by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (Madras University Historical Series, No. 1) is included in the present work except in one or two cases, where their inclusion is rendered necessary for a proper understanding of the whole extract. Only portions furnishing useful information have been extracted from historical introductions, and the passages describing the uninteresting details of family history are rigorously kept out. A few typical instances may be mentioned here. Pingaḷi Sūranna, for instance, gives a long account of the Nandyāla branch of the Āravīḍu family in the introduction of his *Kaḷāpūrṇōdayam*; but he does not allude to a single event of historical importance, excepting the victory which Nandyāla Nārapa won over Quṭb-ul-mulk at Koṇḍavīḍu (130-a). Similarly, Rāmabhadra alludes only to one historical event, *viz.*, Rāmarāja's marriage with the daughter of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya (159) in the

Another kind of historical composition which stands between the *praśastis* in inscriptions and the chronicles is the *biruda-gadya* which the *Vandis* and the *Māgadhas* recited every morning at the palaces of the kings. It consists of a string of phrases describing in highly eulogistic terms the achievements of kings and nobles. The members of the *Bhāṭ* community held the monopoly of reciting the *biruda-gadyas* in South India, and exercised a good deal of influence on the growth of historical literature. The mediaeval *praśasti* writers not only based their compositions on the material furnished by the *biruda-gadyas*, but frequently adopted even the language of the *Bhāṭs*. One interesting feature of the *biruda-gadya* is that it grew with the passage of time. It passed on from generation to generation gathering mass, absorbing new titles, so that the *biruda-gadya* of the last king of any dynasty attributed to him all the titles of his predecessors. If the *Bhāṭs* confined their attention only to the composition of these *gadyas*, the chronicle would not have come into existence at all. Besides the *biruda-gadyas*, they composed verses eulogising the glory of their patrons. These verses which were composed for the occasion were preserved carefully and tacked on to the *biruda-gadya* on which they serve as a metrical commentary. As each generation made its own contribution, the *biruda-gadya* was transformed into a chronicle within the course of a few generations. Although every noble family must have had its own chronicle, only a few have survived. The most important of them are the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* the *Rāmarājīyam*, the *Āravīṭivaṁśacaritram*, the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* and

elaborate account of the Gobbūri family which he gives in the introduction of his *Rāmābhyudayam*. Only these passages are noticed here, and rest of the long introductions has been ignored. No notice is also taken of the works which mention a king or one or more of his subordinates without offering any information of histroical value. For instance, the *Vaiśyavaṁśasudhārṇavam*, a work which was written by the famous commentator, Mallinātha, at the instance of Dēvarāya I, defines the terms '*Vaiśya*', '*Kōmaṭi*' '*Bēri*', etc., but it throws no light on the events that took place during the reign of Dēvarāya or earlier. The *Udayanōdayam*, a poem composed by Nārana Sūrana, contains an account of the family and the deeds of his patron Bhāskara, who governed the province of Koṇḍavīḍu as the agent of Bayakāra Rāmappa, the governor of the fort. No extracts from works of this description are included in this book, as they yield little or no information of general interest.

Cikkadēvarāya Vaṁśāvaḷi. Of these the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi** appears to be the most ancient. The chronicle commences with the reign of the Kākatīya king, Gaṇapati, and comes to a close with the advent of the British government. It gives much valuable information about the history of the Velugōṭi family; but its main importance is due to the light it throws on the histories of the Kākatīyas, the Reḍḍis, the Rāyas, the Gajapatis and the Bahmanī Sulṭāns with whom the chiefs of this family came into intimate contact. The value of this work for the student of South Indian history cannot be overestimated. The *Rāmarājīyam* which is similar in character to the above describes the history of the Āravīḍu family from the time of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi to the middle of the 17th century, when the empire of Vijayanagara finally disappeared. Although like the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, it preserves the distinctive character of the two elements, the *biruda-gadya* and the eulogistic verse, the combination of which produced the chronicle, yet from the standpoint of the evolution of historical literature, it must be regarded as later; for, it is the composition of a single writer, Andugula Venkayya, who attempted to introduce some sort of unity into the loosely connected material, whereas the *Vēlugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* still remains a motley collection of the *biruda-gadyas* and eulogistic verses from the pen of several authors who lived in different ages. The *Āravīṭivaṁśacaritram* which traces the history of the Avuku branch of the Āravīḍu family presents another stage in the growth of the chronicle. The *biruda-gadya* completely drops out of it. This is probably due to an accident. The *Āravīṭivaṁśacaritram* is not an independent work; it is tacked on as an appendix to Kōnērinātha's poem, the *Dvipāda Bālabhāgavatam.* Probably, the author consciously made an innovation in the method of writing the chronicle. Whatever be the circumstances in which the change was introduced, there need be no doubt about its result. It gave the Hindu chronicle its final shape. The *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* however betrays no traces of the *biruda-gadya.* It is

* Edited by N. Venkataramanayya, Bulletin No. 6 of the Department.

a typical chronicle in prose and verse, approximating very nearly, to the Muhammadan historical works in verse.

Two other works which are laid under contribution in the preparation of this volume may now be considered. One of them is the *Rāmarājana-bakhair* (186), which is included in the Mackenzie Collection. It describes the events connected with the disastrous battle of Rākṣasi-Tangiḍi which opened the flood-gates of the Mussalman invasions on South India. This chronicle furnishes us with the Hindu version of the great battle and enables us to investigate the problem afresh. Two versions of the chronicle—one in Marāṭhi, and the other in Kannaḍa—are extant. One appears to be a translation of the other, although it is not easy to determine which of the two works is the original. It purports to be the account of an eye-witness. The minute description of the contending armies, and their movements on the battle-field, and the graphic narration of the progress of events seem to bear out this claim; but it has several defects of a serious nature. The inclusion of the emperor Akbar in the confederacy of the Mussalman kings fighting against the Rāya, and the introduction of a long passage enumerating the fictitious names of the most important of the 64 queens of the Rāya make it obvious that the author of the *bakhair* could not have been a contemporary of Rāmarāja, much less an eye-witness of the battle which saw his downfall. Probably, a genuine old chronicle was tampered with by a later redactor, who distorted it in his attempts to improve it, owing to ignorance. This supposition gives a satisfactory explanation of the intriguing problems with which the student of the chronicle is confronted.

A history of the Mussalman kings of India called *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* is the second of the works mentioned above. It was written in A.D. 1350 by 'Iṣāmy, an Indian Mussalman of Arabian extraction. 'Iṣāmy was born in or about 1310 A.D., and had a first-hand knowledge of the events of the reigns of the later Khaljis and early Tughlaqs to the description of which he devotes nearly two-thirds of his work. He was a partisan of 'Alā-ud-dīn Ḥasan Gangū, the founder of the Bahmanī kingdom,

and gives much valuable and interesting information about the political condition of the Deccan during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq and the circumstances under which the Bahmanī kingdom was founded. Notwithstanding his admiration for 'Alā-ud-dīn Ḥasan, 'Iṣāmy tries to do justice to his enemies. Even the Hindus on whom the Muhammadan historians usually empty the vials of their wrath receive just treatment at his hands. The sections of his work in which he describes the history of Kampili, the rebellions against Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq and the relations of 'Alā-ud-dīn Ḥasan with the founders of Vijayanagara (3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 22, 23) are included in this work. They enable us to see the circumstances in which Vijayanagara was founded in a new light.

Another species of historical literature grew up in South India, specially in the Telugu country, from the administrative records maintained in the villages. These records, known as *daṇḍakaviles* or *kaviles* are village registers containing information about the political, religious, social and economic conditions of the village. It remained in the custody of the village *karaṇam*, who would enter into it all important events concerning the village that happened during his time, and pass it on to his successor. The *daṇḍakavile* would thus grow in bulk from generation to generation, each generation making its own contribution to the history of the village. Col. Colin Mackenzie who was the first to recognize the value of these records, sent into the villages his clerks with instructions to collect and copy them. The clerks whom he despatched in this manner collected several of these *daṇḍakaviles*, and copied every inscription in the villages either on stone or copper; but in many cases, either because they could not induce the *karaṇams* to part with their *kaviles* or because they considered the original not worth copying, they prepared digests of the village registers. These digests are usually known as *kaifiyats*, and they yield much information of value.

The *daṇḍakaviles* and the *kaifiyats* contain, as is to be expected in records of this description, an admixture of legend

and history. The legendary element predominates in the accounts of the early period; but it leaves the later history comparatively free. The *daṇḍakaviles* are usually silent about the administration of the early dynasties such as the Sātavāhanas and the Pallavas. Occasionally they break the silence, only to treat us to a description of the miraculous birth of some forgotten king or the foundation of some vanished temple; but as they approach our own times they free themselves from mythology, and grow more and more accurate and trustworthy. Though they give only a hazy and not very accurate account of the Cāḷukyas and the Cōḷas, they become fuller and more precise in describing the history of the Kākatīyas; and their account of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu, the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, and the Gajapatis of Orissa is very nearly accurate, and occasionally they even furnish us with the key to the solution of some problem on which the inscriptions throw little or no light. But these works must be used with great caution, as fact and fiction are sometimes found in them inextricably mixed together.*

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* The *Kaṭakarāja Vaṁśāvaḷi*, a chronicle of the Kings of Orissa, for instance, alludes to some invasions of Kapilēśvara and Puruṣōttama, and the latter's marriage with a daughter of the King of Kāñcī; but these facts are presented in such a legendary setting that it seems hardly possible to separate the historical material from the legend. Therefore, the information furnished by *Kaṭakarāja Vaṁśāvaḷi* and the *kaifiyats* of that description, is very seldom utilised in the preparation of this book.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF KAMPILI.

A knowledge of the history of the principality of Kampili is indispensable for a clear understanding of the circumstances under which the kingdom of Vijayanagara was founded; for in the first place, the founders of Vijayanagara, were, according to tradition, in the service of Kampilirāya, and his son Kumāra Rāma or Rāmanātha, and secondly, the territory over which Kampilirāya bore sway was the nucleus around which the kingdom of Vijayanagara grew.

The name of the kingdom and its capital:—The Muhammadan historians generally refer to the *Rāi* of Kambila or the Rāja of Kampila as the person who offered protection to Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp, and laid down his life in his defence. Ibn Baṭūṭa who came to India, shortly after the conquest of the kingdom of Kampili refers to its ruler as the 'Rāi of Kambila' and explains that the kingdom obtained its name from the capital.* Similarly, Ferishta speaks of him as the 'Rāja of Kampila' and seems to imply that Kampila was the name of a place, probably the capital.† It appears from this that the protector of Bahā-ud-Dīn was the Rāja of Kampili, whose capital was probably the city of Kampili. The inscriptions, however, do not mention the name of the kingdom but invariably refer to the chief who was holding sway over the territory in the neighbourhood of Kampili as Kampiladēva or Vīra Kampiladēva. An inscription in the shrine of Prasanna Virūpākṣa on the Hēmakūṭa hill at Hampi states that Vīra Kampiladēva, son of Mummaḍi Singaya Nāyaka, and Singaya Nāyaka and Paremeya Nāyaka set up a linga (1). Some of the inscriptions of Ballāḷa III allude to Vīra Kampiladēva as the ruler of the territory in the neighbourhood of Siruguppe in the Bellary district.‡ His capital is said to have been a town called Doravadi,§

* *Foreign Notices*, p. 216.
† Briggs *Ferishta* I, pp. 418-19.
‡ *M. A. R.* 1923, No. 121.
§ *E. C* viii, Nr. 19.

which like Hampi was included in the Ballakundi 300.* The inscriptions, therefore, state unequivocally that the territory in the neighbourhood of Kampili was governed by Vīra Kampiladēva from his capital Doravadi. As the Muhammadan historians and the inscriptions refer to the same time, there arises a doubt in the mind whether Kampila was the name of the kingdom or its ruler. 'Iṣāmy seems to suggest the correct solution to the problem. He employs the term, Kampila, to designate both the king and his kingdom (3, 4, 5). The explanation for the use of the term in this manner is found in the *Kumāra-Rāmanakathe*. According to this work, Mummaḍi Singa who had no sons took a vow to the God Sōmēśvara of Kampili, commonly known as Kampilirāya, that, if the God favoured him with a son, he would name the boy after the deity. The God acceded to his prayer, and in due course a son was born to Mummaḍi Singa; and he gave the name of Kampilirāya to his son in fulfilment of his vow†. This explanation of the origin of Kampiladēva's name seems to be reasonable. The habit of naming the children after some god or famous place of pilgrimage is still popular. Persons bearing the names of such famous places of pilgrimage as Kāñcī, Kāḷahasti, Cidambaram, Tirupati and Rāmēśvaram are commonly met with. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to conclude that Kampilirāya obtained his name from the God Sōmēśvara of Kampili by whose favour he is said to have been born.

The origin of the kingdom :—The kingdom of Kampili came into existence during those troublous years of the fourteenth century when South India had to face a series of Muhammadan invasions under the leadership of the Khaljī and Tughlaq Sulṭāns of Dehlī. Tradition embodied in the *Kumāra-Rāmanakathe*, a poem written in the 16th century A.D., states that the kingdom was founded by Mummaḍi Singaya, a nobleman dependent on Rāmadēva of Dēvagiri. After the capture of his master by the Sulṭān of Dehlī, Mummaḍi Singa is said to have migrated

* *S.I.I.* iv. 260.

† N. Venkataramanayya: *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, p. 5.

southwards and established himself as an independent prince.* Be that as it may. The earliest mention of Mummaḍi Singa is found in an epigraph dated 1280 A.D. It records a fight between a certain Cauṇḍarasa and Mummaḍi Singa, in which the former suffered defeat and death.† Another epigraph dated in the next year ‡ alludes to an attack which Mummaḍi Singa made upon some fort in the Chitaldrug district. Therefore, he appears to have been a powerful baron on the southern frontier of the Sēuṇa kingdom, who was not always willing to obey the orders of the officers sent by his master to govern the frontier. It is not possible to say how long he lived. Khaṇḍeyarāya, one of his sons, was governing the tract in the neighbourhood of Harihara in 1300 A.D.,§ and Kampiladēva, another son, assisted his sovereign, Rāmadēva, in a campaign against Ballāḷa III in 1303 A.D.¶ These inscriptions make it clear that Mummaḍi Singa and his sons were subordinates of Rāmadēva of Dēvagiri, and that they did not set up an independent kingdom at least until 1303 A.D.

The *Kumāra-Rāmanakathe*, as already noticed, states that Mummaḍi Singa became an independent prince subsequent to the capture of Rāmadēva by the Mussalmans. This event took place in 1307-8 A.D., when, at the instance of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī, Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr invaded the Deccan, and having made Rāmadēva a prisoner despatched him with his sons and family to the court of the Sulṭān at Dehlī. By this act, the Malik Nā'ib removed the pivot on which the administrative machinery rested; and as he did not make suitable arrangements excepting in the district of Ellichpūr to carry on the government of the country, disorder seems to have broken out. The state of confusion into which the country was plunged roused the ambition of petty chiefs who appear to have become virtually independent. The quick return of Rāmadēva from Dehlī, however, checked the forces of disintegration, as well as the

* N. Venkataramanayya: *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, pp. 5-6.

† *E.C.* vii, Ci. 24.

‡ *ibid.* xi. Hr. 86.

§ *Ibid.* Dg. 26.

¶ *ibid.* Hr. 16.

activities of ambitious chiefs; but his power did not regain its lost prestige and vigour. It was during these years that Mummaḍi Singa strengthened his hold on the southern frontier, and he seems to have died soon after, bequeathing his estate to his more ambitious and abler son, Kampiladēva.

The date of Kampiladēva's accession cannot be fixed with precision. His father appears to have died some time before A.D. 1314, for, when Malik Kāfūr took charge of the administration of the Sēuṇa kingdom, he found Kampiladēva already established at Kummaṭa. Therefore, the accession of Kampila must have taken place some time between 1308 and 1314 A.D.

And this short period of six years was well suited for the aggrandisement of his power. Rāmadēva, of whom he must still have been a subordinate, was not in a position to make his authority felt. His failure to repel the Muhammadan invaders, coupled with his subservient attitude to the Sulṭān of Dehlī, brought discredit upon his rule, and his sons, kinsmen, and ministers were busy devising plans to expel the Muhammadans from the Deccan. Therefore, the hold of the central government on the outlying provinces must have lost its firmness; and chiefs with far-reaching ambitions must have welcomed the growing weakness of the government. Moreover, Rāmadēva's acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Sulṭān of Dehlī relieved his subjects of the fear of the devastating expeditions of Islamic armies from the north, and of Hindu attacks from the south and the east. The absence of internal and external checks encouraged the nobles, and other powerful subordinates of the king to unfold their ambitious schemes of conquest and aggression. Kampiladēva seems to have taken full advantage of the prevailing conditions to strengthen his position.

The history of Kampili from 1314 to 1329 A.D.:—The death of Rāmadēva brought in its train a series of events which culminated in the establishment of Muslim government permanently in the Deccan. Sankhama, the son and successor of

Rāmadēva,* who resented his father's tame submission to the Mussalmans, withheld the payment of tribute and set up the standard of rebellion. When 'Alā-ud-Dīn heard of the death of Rāmadēva and the rebellion of Sankhama, he despatched Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr, at the head of an army to the Deccan, with instructions to seize the country, and establish Muslim authority. He appointed Kāfūr as the governor of the conquered country, and commanded him to build a Jumma Masjid at Dēvagiri. The Malik Nā'ib set out for the Deccan without delay, and having reached the Ghat of Sāgūna, began to plunder the territories dependent on Dēvagiri. Information soon reached Sankhama that the Dehlī army had arrived; but as he felt that he was not strong enough to resist the invader, he abandoned his capital and fled. Dēvagiri easily fell into the hands of the Malik Nā'ib who treated its inhabitants with consideration. He summoned the civil servants of the kingdom, and formally took charge of its administration. He established order and suppressed insubordination with a stern hand. Under his rule, the land was once again well-cultivated, and the country became prosperous.

Notwithstanding the friendly attitude of the Malik Nā'ib, the Sēuṇa territory did not submit to him without a fight. He found it necessary to march against some of the chiefs in the south, especially Kampiladēva who seems to have defied his authority. He plundered the enemy's country, and set fire to villages and towns. At last, he advanced upon Kummaṭa, one of Kampiladēva's strongholds and laid siege to it for a week; but for some unknown reason, he abandoned the siege and quickly retired to Dēvagiri. Probably he found that the fort was too strong to be captured easily. As he was recalled to Dehlī by the Sulṭān, soon after his arrival at Dēvagiri, to attend the marriage festivities of Khiẓr Khān with the daughter of Alp Khān, the Malik Nā'ib could not renew his attack upon Kummaṭa. On the receipt of the royal *farman*, he entrusted the administration

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* This is according to Amīr Khusrau who mentions also Bhillama, a younger brother of Sankhama. On the other hand, 'Iṣāmy who gives most of the facts narrated below ascribes them to Bhillama, the only son, according to him, of Rāmadēva. We follow Khusrau regarding the name of the successor of Rāmadēva.

of the province to his lieutenant, 'Ain-ul-Mulk and hastened to Dehlī; but 'Ain-ul-Mulk had not the enterprising spirit of his chief to prosecute his schemes.

Moreover, the revolutionary changes that were taking place in the capital, began to produce serious repurcussions in the provinces. Soon after the Malik Nā'ib's return to Dehlī, the Sulṭān, who was in an indifferent state of health, sickened and died; and at the instance of the Malik Nā'ib, Khiẓr Khān was blinded in the state prison at Gwalior. He set up Shihāb-ud-Dīn, an infant son of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, on the throne, and began to govern the kingdom as regent on his behalf.

The high-handed acts of the regent, however, caused wide-spread resentment, and Gujarāt rose up in rebellion. On getting news of this revolt, the Malik Nā'ib ordered 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was already hastening, according to instructions, with all the Mussalmans of the Deccan to join his master at Dehlī, to proceed to Gujarāt. The Malik Nā'ib was soon after murdered by the palace guard, and prince Quṭb-ud-Dīn, who later on assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh, seized the government.

Nothing is known of the kingdom of Kampili during the short period of rapid palace revolutions that followed Malik Nā'ib's assassination at Dehlī. His failure to capture Kummaṭa and his subsequent retreat to Dēvagiri must have enhanced the importance and reputation of Kampiladēva in the eyes of his contemporaries. 'Ain-ul-Mulk who succeeded Malik Nā'ib at Dēvagiri seems to have confined his attention to the administration of his province. It is not likely that he could have come into conflict with his Hindu neighbour in the south. How Kampila reacted to the political changes that came over the Deccan after 'Alā-ud-Dīn's death is not known. Did he join Harapāladēva in his rebellion? Or did he remain neutral, seizing as much territory as he could grasp on his own account? Again, did Mubārak Shāh or Khusrau come into conflict with Kampiladēva during their Mahraṭṭa campaigns,

and if they did, what was the result of this conflict? No answer can be given to these questions at present. Ferishta, it is true, states that Mubārak Shāh posted garrisons at Gulburga, Sāgar, Dvārasamudra and other places* and two inscriptions of Ballāḷa III's officers dated 1320 and 1321 A.D. respectively claiming victory over Turuka army lend colour to this statement;† but they do not throw any light on the affairs of Kampili. It is also possible to argue that because Ferishta mentions Dvārasamudra after Sāgar, Kampila's kingdom which lay immediately to the south of the latter did not come within the ambit of Mubārak Shāh's power. Whatever the relations of Kampila with Mubārak Shāh, he became so strong in 1320 A. D. that Ballāḷa III was obliged to lead an expedition against him with the object of putting down his power.

The kingdom of Kampili was surrounded by powerful states. On the north lay the territories of the Sulṭān of Dehlī, a source of danger to all its neighbours; on the south and the west were the Hoysala dominions and the Kākatīya boundary marched very near the capital on the east. Kampiladēva who was anxious to extend his dominion naturally came into conflict with his neighbours.

The *Kumāra-Rāmanakathe* gives an account of a war between Kampiladēva and Pratāparudra of Warangal, in which the latter is said to have been worsted.‡ But the *Bhīmakhaṇḍa* of Śrīnātha alludes to the destruction of the pleasure gardens of Kummaṭa by Beṇḍapūḍi Anna, one of Pratāparudra's ministers. It is stated in the *Bālabhāgavata*, that Kōṭikanṭi Rāghava, a half-brother of Sōmadēva, the progenitor of the Āravīḍu chiefs, inflicted a defeat on Kampilirāya, and deprived him of the seven members of his royalty (2-b). Now, Kōṭikanṭi Rāghava was a petty chief, and he could not have secured a

* *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, (Navval Kishore Press) p. 125.

† *M. A. R.* 1910, para. 85; *Ibid* 1914, p. 87.

‡ N. Venkataramanayya: *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, p. 9; M. H. Rama Sarma, *Q. J. M. S.* XX, pp. 95-96.

victory over Kampiladēva without some external assistance. As the early Āravīḍu chiefs were holding sway over Kurnool and its neighbourhood which was included at that time in the Kākatīya dominions, it is not unlikely that he should have joined Anna's expedition. It is not possible to determine the date of this expedition; but it may be provisionally assigned to A. D. 1319 or 1320. The Kākatīya kingdom fell in 1323 A.D., and the territory corresponding to the present Raichore district must have passed into Kampila's hands after this date.

The struggle between Kampila and Ballāḷa III appears to have been bitter and protracted. The *Kumāra-Rāmanakathe*, and the *Ballāḷarāyana Yuddha* devote considerable space to describe the struggle. The inscriptions also allude to the events connected with this war. It is stated in an epigraph of Hoskote in the Shimoga district dated 1320 A. D. that Ballāḷa III marched with all his forces to Doravadi against Ka(m)piladēva, and that in the battle which ensued, Kuruka, a subordinate of Ballāḷa, was killed.* Another record of the Tumkur district† dated 1325 A. D. also refers to a war between Ballāḷa III and Kampila, and a damaged *vīragal* record alludes to the march of Ballāḷa's army to Siruguppe in the Bellary district for destroying the pride of Vīra Kampiladēva. A fierce battle for the acquisition of land (*yele-yuddha*) was fought and Sakki Sāhiṇi, one of Ballāḷa's officers, was evidently slain.‡ It is obvious that Ballāḷa III was frequently at war with Kampiladēva from 1320 to 1325, although he gained no advantage by it. The absence of Ballāḷa's inscriptions in the Bellary district, and in the Davanagere and Chintamani tāluks of the Mysore state clearly shows that he was not successful in his fight with Kampila.

The extent of Kampila's territory and his capitals.—Notwithstanding the constant wars in which Kampila involved himself he seems to have managed to increase the extent of his

* *E. C.* VIII, Nr. 19. † *E. C.* XII, Tp. 24.
‡ *M. A. R.* 1923, p. 119.

territory. Mummaḍi Singeya, the father of Kampila is said to have ruled from Doravadi in Kurugōḍu-*nāḍu*.* It is evident that Kurugōḍu which corresponds to the Bellary and Hospet tāluks of the Bellary district was the heart of his kingdom. It seems to have extended to Holalakere tāluk† in the south and the whole of Devanagere tāluk including Harihar in the Chitaldrug district in the west; in the east it included Siriguppe in the Bellary tāluk.‡ The river Kṛṣṇā appears to have been its northern boundary, in the east and the north-east its frontiers cannot be described definitely at present. So far as it is possible to estimate the extent of Kampila's kingdom from the inscriptions and the contemporary Muhammadan historians §, it appears to have comprised large portions of Bellary, Chitaldrug, Raichore and Dharwad districts.

The capital of the kingdom appears to have been shifted constantly, owing probably to the extension of the territory and the requirements of strategy. The town of Kampili (2½ miles to the east of Hampi, on the Tungabhadrā) from which the kingdom is said to have derived its name, must have been its earliest capital, although it is not mentioned as such in any of the known sources; but Doravadi is spoken of as the place of residence of Mummaḍi Singeya and Kampila in two inscriptions dated 1280 A. D. and 1320 A. D. respectively.¶ This place is said to be situated in the Gangavati tāluk of the Raichore district at a distance of some 7 or 8 miles to the east or the north-east of Ānegondi. It appears to have been supplanted by two other forts, Kummaṭa and Hosadurga which figure largely in Kampiladēva's wars with the Mussalmans. Kummaṭa was situated on the Tungabhadrā, and it appears to be identical with either Haḷe Kummaṭa or Kumara-Ramana

* *E. C.* VII, Ci. 24. † *Ibid.* xi Hr. 16; *M.A.R.* 1912, para. 89; 1913, para. 35.

‡ *M. A. R.* 1923, No. 121.

§ The Muhammadan historians state that Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp fled from Sāgar to the kingdom of Kampila. 'Iṣāmy says that the soldiers of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq under Malik Zāda, pursued Garshāsp after defeating him in a battle up to a river and then turned back. Evidently the river was the Kṛṣṇā which must have been the boundary between the two kingdoms.

¶ *E. C.* VII, Ci. 24; VIII, Nr. 19.

Kummaṭa both of which stand at a distance of about eight miles from Ānegondi,* to the west of Hampi. This fort was attacked by the Malik Nā'ib in 1314 A.D., and subsequently by the Kākatīya general Beṇḍapūḍi Anna. Kummaṭa was, according to the *Kumāra-Rāmanakathe*, the capital of Kampiladēva. It was here that Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp met him when he fled from Sāgar. 'Iṣāmy refers to a place called Hosdurg which seems to have been an important stronghold in the kingdom. The *Kumāra-Rāmanakathe* states that Kampila built a fort named Hosamaladurga at a place called Mūrāneya Sandi on the Tungabhadrā. Hosdurg appears to be identical with Hosamaladurga. An inscription dated 1436 A. D. engraved on 'a Nāga stone to the left of the road to the north of Ānegondi' mentions 'Bayiradēva of' Aneyasandi of Hastināvati.'† Mr. M. Narasimhachari considers that it is 'probably the old form of Ānegondi.' It may be added that it is also an abbreviation of Mūrāneya Sandi. If these identifications are correct, Hosamaladurga which Kampila built at the Mūrāneya Sandi must be regarded as no other place than Ānegondi which was destined to play a glorious part in the history of South India during the succeeding centuries.

The fall of Kampiladēva.—The brilliant career of Kampiladēva ended abruptly in a great disaster. In A. D. 1326 he came into conflict with Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, the Sulṭān of Dehlī, who slew him in battle and annexed his territory. On the death of Sulṭān Ghaiyāṣ-ud-Dīn Tughlaq in 1325 A. D., his son, Muḥammad Tughlaq ascended the throne of Dehlī. Although all the nobles of the kingdom paid homage to the new sovereign, Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp, a nephew (a sister's son) of the old Sulṭān who was holding the fief of Sāgar, declined to follow their example, and having gathered forces, set up the standard of rebellion. Sulṭān Muḥammad despatched Malik Aḥmad Ayāz, the governor of Gujarāt, with an army to suppress the rebellion. He reached Dēvagiri whence he marched with his army against Garshāsp. A battle was fought

* *Q. J. M. S.* XX, pp. 11–12. † *M.A.R.* 1920, p. 36.

somewhere on the banks of the Gōdāvarī in which Garshāsp was defeated owing to to the desertion of Khiẓr, son of Bahrām, one of his subordinates. Garshāsp then retreated to the fort of Sāgar, hotly pursued by his enemies. Feeling that his chances of success were completely ruined, he fled towards the kingdom of Kampili with his women and children to seek safety from the attacks of the enemy. On reaching Kummaṭa, he crept into the fort and begged Kampila to offer him protection. Kampila spoke to him kindly and promised generously to protect him, even if by this act he brought death upon himself and ruin upon his kingdom; Kampila thus invited trouble upon his own head by baulking the Sulṭān of Dehlī of his prey; the Sulṭān's armies came one after another and 'boiled violently (like the waves of) the salt sea on every side of his fort'.

Sulṭān Muḥammad had to send three expeditions against the kingdom of Kampili, before he could subdue it. The first expedition which was commanded by Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn was repulsed and Rukn-ud-Dīn had to turn his back upon Kampili having sustained a defeat in the battle-field. A second expedition which was despatched under Quṭb Malik Jahān met with a similar fate. These failures made the Sulṭān more determined than ever to subjugate Kampila and punish him for having succoured Bahā-ud-Dīn who defied his authority. Therefore, the Sulṭān himself marched at the head of an army and arrived at Dēvagiri, which he made the capital of his empire. He despatched an expedition for the third time against Kampiladēva under Aḥmad Ayāz Malik Zāda, one of the ablest and most faithful of his officers. Malik Zāda proceeded against Kummaṭa; but before he could reach the place, he was opposed on the way by an army under the command of Kampila and Bahā-ud-Dīn. In the engagement that followed, they were, however, defeated, and forced to take refuge under the walls of Kummaṭa. Malik Ayāz laid siege to it and pressed the garrison to extremities. The commander of Kampila's army made a sally and perished in the attempt. Kampila and

Bahā-ud-Dīn escaped from the fort, and reached Hosadurga after facing many hardships on their route. Malik Ayāz pursued them thither and besieged the fort of Hosadurga for a month, at the end of which he attempted to capture it by escalade. Bahā-ud-Dīn realised that the fall of the fort was inevitable, and having slipped out of it with his women and children, he fled towards the kingdom of Ballāḷa; but "like a (true) warrior, Kampila did not abandon the fort; the danger threatening his friend seized him by the head and hurled (him with) the whole of his family into peril. He fought fiercely, and at last when he died, his body was covered with the wounds caused by a shower of arrows". Malik Zāda sent the head of Kampila stuffed with grass to the Sulṭān at Dēvagiri ( ).

Kampili under the Sulṭān of Dehlī.—The kingdom of Kampili which Mummaḍi Singeya founded in A. D. 1307-8 came to an end in A. D. 1326 after a glorious history of well nigh two decades. The territory over which Kampila bore sway passed into the hands of the Sulṭān and became a province of his empire, as may be inferred from the occasional statements of Muhammadan historians; but of the officers to whom the Sulṭān entrusted its administration, and of the manner in which they carried on their work, no information has been recorded. However, Ẓiā-ud-Dīn Barnī incidentally alludes to the happenings in the land of Kampili. While describing the series of rebellions that broke out in quick succession about 1330 A. D. during Muḥammad Tughlaq's reign, Barnī observes:

"About the same time (as the outbreak of rebellion in Telingāṇa), one of the relations of Kampila, whom the Sulṭān had sent to Kampila, apostatised from Islām, and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kampila was thus lost and fell into the hands of the Hindus."*

* *Tārīkh-i-Fīrōzshāhī*, (Descriptive Catalogue of Arabic and Persian mss. in the Madras Government Oriental mss. Library, No. 298). *E. D.* iii, p. 245. This reading is adopted both by Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad and Mullā 'Abd-ul-Bāqy. The published text of *Tārīkh-i-Fīrōzshāhī* has, however, Kanyā Nāyak in the place of Kampila.

The same individual seems to have effected the conquest of Karnāṭa some time before 1349 A.D., for 'Iṣāmy states that an apostate conquered the whole of Kannaḍa from one end of the country to another.

"An apostate (from Islām)", says he, "seized the country of Kannaḍa, and captured (the territory) from Gutty to the frontier of Ma'bar." *

It is evident from these passages that the Sulṭān sent a Hindu convert to Islām, who was a relation of Kampila whom he had overthrown in 1327 A.D. to govern Kampili some time after its conquest; but this officer, having apostatised from Islām, stirred up a rebellion, and asserted his independence. Next, he undertook the conquest of Kannaḍa the whole of which he seems to have brought under his authority some time before A. D. 1349.

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* *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn*, Ind. Off. Ms. f. 362.

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGIN OF THE SANGAMAS.

The governor whom Muḥammad bin Tughlaq sent to govern Kampili is said to have asserted his independence, and established a powerful kingdom. It is necessary to discover his identity, for a clear understanding of South Indian History during the 14th century. He is said to have borne sway in Kampili and Kannaḍa, and we must turn to the epigraphy of this region in this period for more light. The extent of Kampili has been already indicated. The boundaries of Kannaḍa yet remain to be described. Gutty and Ma'bar mentioned by 'Iṣāmy must be taken to represent the two extreme limits of Kannaḍa in 1350 A. D., when he completed his history. Ma'bar is the name by which the Mediaeval Muhammadan writers refer to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. According to Wāssaf, Ma'bar extended 'in length from Kulam (Quilon) to Nilāwar (Nellore) nearly three hundred farsangs along the coast.* How far it extended into the interior of the peninsula is not known. 'Iṣāmy states that Sayyid Jalāl-ud-Dīn Aḥsan, the *kotwāl* of (Madura ?), having murdered all the nobles rose up in rebellion against Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, and set up a separate kingdom in Ma'bar about 1334 A. D. In 1342 when Ibn Baṭūṭa visited Madura, (Kaṇṇanūr)-Koppam near Trichinopoly was the northernmost outpost of the Madura sultanate. To the north of it lay the dominions of the Kannaḍa king, Ballāḷa III, who lost his life in attempting to capture it. It is thus seen that Ma'bar lay on the southern frontier of Kannaḍa. Therefore, Gutty the other extremity of the country, must have stood somewhere in the north. It may, however, be pointed out that as Ma'bar extended as far north as Nellore,

* *E.D.* iii, p. 32.

Kannaḍa must have situated to the west rather than the north of Ma'bar. In that case Gutty must be looked for somewhere in the territory extending westwards from Nellore to the shore of the Arabian sea. It is in the inscriptions of this region that we have to search for discovering the identity of the apostate general whom Muḥammad bin Tughlaq sent to govern the province of Kampili.

Who was the king that is mentioned in the inscriptions as the ruler of the region corresponding to the defunct kingdom of Kampili during this period? The earliest record that gives a direct answer to this question is the Kāpalūru grant* of Harihara dated 1336-7 A.D. It states that Harihara, the eldest of the five sons of Sangama of the Yadu race, was ruling the country in the neighbourhood of Pampākṣētra with the city of Kuñjarakōna (Āneyagondi) as his capital. His four brothers were known by the names of Kampaṇa, Bukka, Mārapa, and Muddapa; and acting on the advice of the sage Vidyāraṇya, he laid the foundations of a new city called Vidyānagara, on the southern bank of the Tungabhadrā. The same information is conveyed by another grant from the Bāgēpalli tāluk of the Kolar district.† An unpublished epigraph engraved on a stone in front of Śiva's shrine at Aṭakalaguṇḍa in the Kurnool district dated 1339 A. D. bears testimony to Harihara's rule over Sindavāḍi Thousand of which Ādavāni was the chief city. Harihara is said to have been ruling at the time from his *nelevīdu* at Gutty (Gooty) in the Anantapur district.‡ An undated epigraph probably belonging to this period describes the fort of Gutty as the navel to the wheel of sovereignty over the whole earth of the illustrious King Bukka.§ The northern boundary of Harihara's dominions seems to have marched along the Kṛṣṇā; for according to 'Iṣāmy, Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn's officers made an attack upon Raichore which appears to have been within striking distance of Sāgar, the southernmost outpost in the Sulṭān's kingdom. This is confirmed by an inscription

* *N. D. I.* i, Cp. 15.

† *E.* C. x, Bg. 60.

‡ *L. R.* 23, pp. 52-53.

§ *S. I. I.* i, p. 167.

found in the fort of Bādāmi dated 1340 A. D. which records the construction of the fort by an officer of king Harihara who bore the titles of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *arirāyavibhāḷa*, *bhāṣage-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa and pūrvapaścimasamudrādhīśvara*.* The last mentioned title seems to indicate that Harihara's authority extended from the eastern to the western sea. This statement derives support from two records of the Nellore district. A damaged inscription near Buggabāvi at Udayagiri dated 1343 A. D. registers a grant to a shrine made by Kampaṇa one of Harihara's brothers.† He is also mentioned as ruling over this region in another grant at Koḍavalūr dated 1347 A.D.‡ Harihara's rule over the west coast is testified by the evidence of Ibn Baṭūṭa and the famous Śṛṅgēri inscription recording the assembly of Harihara, his brothers, and their officers to celebrate the conquest of the earth from the eastern to the western sea.§

Thus, it is seen from the evidence of the inscriptions that the province of Kampili, besides a considerable tract of territory outside it, was under the control of Harihara, the son of Sangama of the Yadu race from 1336 to 1346 A. D.

Next, it must be found out whether this Harihara had also conquered Kannaḍa. The first point that must be noted in this connection is that the term Kannaḍa denoted the name of a country and not of a kingdom. A large part of Kannaḍa was at this time under the sway of the Hoysala kings of Dvārasamudra, who are occasionally referred to in the inscriptions as the rulers of Karṇāṭa; the Hoysala kingdom at this time extended as far as the Kāvērī in the south, and Kāñcī in the east. The Yādavarāyas of Candragiri and the Sambuvarāyas of Paḍaivīḍu appear to have been the subordinates of Ballāḷa III. And the Tuḷuva country as far as Bārakūru acknowledged his sway. Is there any evidence to show that Harihara or his brothers conquered Kannaḍa including the Hoysala dominions?

* *I.A.* x, p. 63.
† *L. R.* 46, pp. 236-37.
‡ *N. D. I.* ii, Nl. 28.
§ *E. C.* vi, Sg. 1.

The answer to this question is in the affirmative. The inscriptions of the time of Harihara I and Bukka I contain definite allusions to the conquest of the Kannaḍa country inclusive of the Hoysala territory. Mallinātha Voḍeyar, son of Aḷiya Sāyi Nāyaka and a subordinate of Harihara and Bukka, is said to have won victories over the Hoysaṇa army among others.* Tipparāja, another officer of Bukka, captured the fort of Ucchangi. Tipparāja, together with Teppada Nāgaṇṇa, appears to have waged some war in the Hoysaṇa country in which the town of Sosavūr was somehow involved.† Sosavūr is said to have been the birthplace of the Hoysalas, and if any one were desirous of taking it from these officers it must have been the Hoysalas themselves. It is also stated in two inscriptions dated 1354 A.D. that Bukka ruled over the hereditary territory of the Hoysalas, from the city of Hosapaṭṭaṇa, 'having made the circle of earth belonging to the Hoysala family an ornament of his arm' (*i.e.*, reduced it to subjection by the strength of his arm).‡ Similarly, an epigraph dated 1359 A.D. asserts that Bukkarāya Voḍeyar was ruling permanentely in Harihara in the Hoysaṇa kingdom, having by the strength of his arm conquered it from the hostile chiefs.§ The most explicit reference to the conquest of the Hoysaṇa country is found in an inscription of Bukka I himself. "Having freed from enemies a hundred royal cities beginning with Dōrasamudra, he ruled over a kingdom perfect in seven parts." ¶ This conquest must have been completed before A. D. 1352, for in an inscription dated in that year, Bukka I is said to have been ruling from Penugoṇḍa and Dōrasamudra. $ It appears to have begun as early as 1343 A.D., for a few inscriptions of Harihara I and of his subordinates dated in that year are found in the Kōlar and Hassan districts of the Mysore

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* *E. C.* xi, Cd. 2.

† *E. C.* vi, Mg. 25.

‡ *M. A. R.* 1925, No. 84, pp. 73-4; 339 of 1901 (S.I.I. VII, No. 566, Sewell, *L. A.* I Penugoṇḍa No. 23, pp. 19-20.)

§ *M. A. R.* 1936, No. 24.

¶ *E. C.* iv, Yd. 46.

$ *A. R. E.* 522 of 1906.

State.* An idea of the progress of the conquest of the Hoysala kingdom may be had from the following schedule :—

District.	Reference.	Date of the last Hoysala inscription.	Reference.	Date of the earliest Vijayanagara inscription.
Anantapur ...	*A.R.E.* 102 of 1927	1340	*L. A.* i, pp. 119-20, Penugoṇḍa No. 23.	1344
Chitaldrug ...	Cd. 6	1338	Cd. 67	1345
Kolar ...	Kl. 32	1342	*M.A.R.* 1914, para. 91	1343
Bangalore ...	Bn. 41	1343	Nl. 19	1340
Tumkur ...	Tp. 100	1341	Pg. 74	(?) 1354
Mysore ...	Yd. 29	1342	Hs. 114	1344
Hassan ...	Ak. 183	1338	Ak. 159	1343
Kadur ...	Cm. 45	1342	Sg. 1	1346
Shimoga ...	Sb. 494	1334	Sb. 263	1342

It is evident that the Hoysala rule came to an end in 1343 A.D., and that the rule of Vijayanagara kings commenced almost immediately.

The conquest of the Tuḷuva country seems to have been undertaken about the same time. Mārapa is said to have acquired a kingdom in the west from Kallasa and established himself in Gāmantaśaila, the excellent Candragupti.† Mārapa's advance was probably the first stage in the expansion of Vijayanagara into Konkan. That Harihara's authority was established over the whole of Konkan coast down to the frontiers of Malabar as early as 1342 is shown by the following statement of Ibn Baṭūṭa :—

"The ruler of Hinawur (Honavar on the west coast) is Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn who is one of the best and most powerful

* *M. A. R.* 1914, para. 91; *E. C.* v, Ak. 159.
† *E. C.* viii, Sb. 375.

Sulṭāns. He is under the suzerainty of an infidel Sulṭān called Haryab of whom we shall speak later. The people of Mulaybār (Malabar) pay a fixed sum annually to Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn through fear of his sea power." *

This passage makes it clear that the people of Malabar paid an annual tribute to Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn of Honavar who was himself a subordinate of Harihara. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to suppose that, in 1342, Harihara's sway was acknowledged all along the Konkan coast up to Malabar. The accuracy of this inference is proved by a Śṛngēri inscription of 1346 A.D.† On the occasion when Harihara I and his brothers met at Śṛngēri, to celebrate their conquest of the earth from 'the eastern to the western ocean', Kikkāyi Tāyi, the widowed queen of Ballāḷa III, who was the hereditary ruler of the Tuḷuva country, came to the place like all the other subordinates of Harihara, and made a grant of the village of Hosavūr in the Santalige-*nāḍu* to Bhāratī Tīrtha Śrīpāda. Harihara's conquest of the the Tuḷuva country was probably completed before 1342 A.D.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that Harihara, the son of Sangama of the Yadu race, was not only ruling over the province of Kampili but had completely subjugated the whole of the Kannaḍa country between 1336 A. D. and 1346 A. D. Therefore, he must be that relation of Kampila, who embraced Islām, and who was appointed by the Sulṭān as the governor of the province of Kampili. If this identification be correct—we believe it is—then Harihara must have been a follower of Islām and a subordinate of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq before he obtained the governorship of Kampili.

This conclusion is fully supported by tradition, as recorded in the *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna*, the *Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta*, the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* and works of that description. Tradition indeed is often suspect, and often rightly kept back in the discussion of historical problems; we venture to utilise its evidence in

* *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, Broadway Travellers, pp. 230–31.

† *E.C.* vi, Sg. 1.

this context, as we believe it to be valuable. In the first place, the tradition concerning the origin of Vijayanagara, coming as it does from entirely Canarese sources, attributes the foundation of the kingdom, to two alien chiefs from Telingāṇa. Secondly, it is throughout consistent. It always attributes the foundation of the kingdom to Harihara and Bukka. Lastly, its evidence agrees remarkably well with the information derived from contemporary sources regarding the origin of the kingdom. Therefore, it is necessary that the evidence of tradition should be taken into consideration before closing the discussion of this problem.

The *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* (No. 14), the earliest recension of which seems to have been composed before the close of the 15th century, and the *Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta* (13) describe the circumstances under which the kingdom of Vijayanagara was founded.

Although these two accounts agree substantially with each other, they differ on certain points which must be noticed here.

1. The *Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta* mentions, besides the names of the father, brothers and ministers of Harihara and Bukka, their original habitat. It is said that Sangama ruled from a place called Mangaḷanilaya; the place cannot be identified at present though its name leads one to think of the present Mangaḷagiri or Mangaḷūr (the present Santa-Ma(n)gaḷūr) in the Guntur district; but the other facts mentioned about Sangama's family are capable of verification.

2. Though the *Vṛttānta* agrees with the *Kālajñāna* in stating that Harihara and Bukka entered the service of Pratāparudra of Warangal, they give divergent account of what happened to them subsequent to the defeat and capture of Pratāparudra by the Sulṭān of Dehlī. According to the *Kālajñāna*, Harihara and Bukka fled to the court of a king called Rāmanātha, and remained in his service until his defeat

and death at the hands of the officers of the Sulṭān of Dehlī, when they were carried away as prisoners to the Sulṭān's city. The *Vṛttānta* ignores the flight to Rāmanātha's court altogether and states that they were carried away as prisoners to the Sulṭān's camp from Warangal itself. The evidence of epigraphy as well as the later chronicles, however, lends support to the *Kālajñāna*. According to an inscription dated 1314 A. D. Bukka, one of the two chiefs who founded Vijayanagar some twenty years later, was holding sway at the time over the tract of country in the neighbourhood of Kanigiri in the present Nellore district.* As the territory over which Bukka exercised authority was at that time included in the Kākatīya dominions, it is obvious that he held the territory as a subordinate of Pratāparudra, the Kākatīya king, who was ruling at that time. Moreover, the evidence of the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam*, *Kumāra-Rāmanakathe*, and the chronicle of Nuniz point in the same direction. The first (No. 9) mentions two northern Kṣatriya brothers called Harihara and Bukka who migrated to the southern country, entered into marital relations with the Kuṛubas, settled down there. The second alludes to Bhaṇḍārada Harihara and Bhaṇḍārada Bukka as officers in the service of Kampila, the king of Kummaṭa; and the last states

* *N. D. I.* II, Kg. 7. Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty, the editors of the Nellore District Inscriptions, expressed the opinion that as the date of the record was too early for Bukka I of Vijayanagara, Bukkarāya Voḍayalu mentioned in it should be 'the father of Sangama,' and the grandfather of Bukka I. (*N. D. I.* III, p. 1467). This view was accepted as reasonable in later works on the subject. (See *Origin of the city and empire of Vijayanagara*, p. 99). It is not however impossible that the chief mentioned in the inscription under consideration was identical with Bukka I himself; for several of the younger contemporaries of Pratāparudra lived up to the closing decades of the 14th century; Kannu or Kattu who was one of the important commanders of Pratāparudra embraced Islām, and rose to prominence in the service of the later Sulṭāns of Dehlī. He was made a provincial governor by Muḥammad bin Tug͟hlaq, who entrusted to him the administration of several provinces. On the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad, he entered the service of Fīrūz Shāh, and became the prime-minister of the empire, an office which he held almost up to the time of his death in 1370 A.D. 'Ain-ul-Mulk who rose to importance as a lieutenant of Malik Kāfūr lived almost up to the end of Fīrūz Shāh's reign. Similarly the sage Vidyāraṇya who helped Harihara and Bukka to found the city of Vijayanagara died in 1384 A.D. some time subsequent to his 80th year. It is not therefore unlikely that Bukka I who died in 1368 A.D. was governing the region in the vicinity of Kanigiri as a subordinate of Pratāparudra in 1314 A.D.

that Dēvarāo whom the Sulṭān of Dehlī sent to rule at Nagundy (Āneyagondi) was formerly in the service of the king of that place whom the Sulṭān slew in battle about 1330 A.D. Now, this king of Āneyagondi was, according to the *Kumāra-Rāmana-kathe*, Kampilirāya, and he had a brave son called Rāmanātha who carried on the administration of the kingdom on behalf of his father. Therefore, the flight of Harihara and Bukka from Warangal to the court of Rāmanātha seems to be a fact.

3. Though the *Vṛttānta* and *Kālajñāna* agree about the captivity of Harihara and Bukka, the circumstances under which they gained their freedom, and their appointment as the leaders of a military expedition to Karṇāṭa, the former gives a much more cogent account of the events which happened during the captivity of Harihara and Bukka. The Sulṭān set them at liberty and entertained them in his service, because he was convinced that they were upright and trustworthy; he sent them to Karṇāṭa with an army to subdue the country, because the Ballāḷas rebelled against him; and he entrusted to them the administration of Karṇāṭa, because they pleased him by their services to the state in suppressing the rebels.

The outbreak of a rebellion in the Karṇāṭa before the appointment of Dēorāo as the governor of Nagundy is also mentioned by Nuniz. The Sulṭān is said to have stayed in the place for two years after the death of the king of Nagundy. As he obtained information that a rebellion broke out in the north, he was compelled to collect all his scattered troops, and hasten homewards; but before his departure, he appointed Meliquay Neby one of his officers, the governor of the conquered kingdom, and left under his charge many troops to help him in upholding his authority. Nevertheless, as soon as the Sulṭān had departed to his kingdom, the people rose in rebellion against their governor, and having declined to pay taxes, they came to besiege him in the fortress. Realising the precarious condition in which he found himself, Meliquay Neby sent a report to his master acquainting him with the state of

affairs obtaining in his province. On receiving this report, the Sulṭān held consultations with his ministers, and acting on their advice, appointed the principal judge of the late king of Nagundy called Dēorāo, and his treasurer whom he held captive as the king and governor respectively, and having released them from prison, he took from them oaths of fealty as vassals and despatched them to their land 'with a large following to defend them from any one who should desire to do them an injury.'*

Nuniz's description of the Sulṭān's movements at this period is generally correct. Sulṭān Muḥammad who came to the Deccan in 1326-27 A. D. to direct personally the campaign against Kampiladēva, stayed at Dēvagiri, the official capital, until 1328 A. D. During this period, he busied himself with the systematic conquest of the Deccan; the subjugation of Nāg Nāyak, the Kōlī chief of Gandhiyāna, alone took nine months. The Sulṭān was obliged, however, to hasten to Hindustan owing to Kishlu Khān's rebellion in Multān, and the threatened invasion of Mughals under Tarmashīrīn. The accuracy of Nuniz's chronicle is proved so far by the accounts of Muhammadan historians. Muḥammad Tughlaq must have made some arrangements for carrying on the administration of the conquered territory. It is not unlikely that he appointed Meliquay Neby as the governor, and 'left many troops', with him to maintain his authority. The people of the province rose in rebellion against this governor, and forced him to shut himself up in his fort. If there is any truth in this part of Nuniz's narrative, it is necessary to account for the sudden accession of strength to the rebels. Nagundy (*i.e.*, Āneyagondi) was but a small province, and the governor had many troops to maintain his authority. In these circumstances, how was it that he was obliged to stand a siege by the rebels and report to his master his incapacity to control the situation? The only answer to this question is that the people of Nagundy probably received

* *The Forgotten Empire*, p. 298.

some sort of help, direct or indirect, from some external source, say Ballāḷa III, and that this help enabled them to defy the authority of the governor. The reasonableness of this surmise is proved by the *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* (14) and *Vṛttānta* (13). The former states that Harihara and his brother overthrew the power of Ballāḷa in obedience to the commands of the Sulṭān. The latter is more explicit. It states that Ballāḷa rebelled agaist the Sulṭān in Karṇāṭa and that an army under Harihara and Bukka was sent to put down the rebellion. Moreover, according to these works, the brothers met Ballāḷa in battle somewhere on the banks of the Tungabhadrā in the neighbourhood of Hampi. This establishes Ballāḷa's complicity in the rebellion of Nagundy. That is the reason why Sulṭān Muḥammad commissioned the two brothers to overthrow his authority.

Summing up the results of the foregoing discussion it may be briefly stated that Harihara and Bukka, two of the five sons of Sangama, entered the service of Pratāparudra of Warangal as the superintendents of his treasury. On the overthrow of Pratāparudra's authority by the Sulṭān of Dehlī, they fled to the court of Rāmanātha of Kampili, married into his family, and entered his service. On the death of Rāmanātha in the battle-field at the hands of the soldiers of the Sulṭān, they were carried away as prisoners of war; but the Sulṭān being impressed by their upright conduct in prison, set them at liberty and having induced them to accept Islām, as shall be shown presently, enlisted them in his service at court. When a rebellion broke out in Nagundy at the instigation of Ballāḷa III, the Sulṭān sent Harihara and Bukka with an army to suppress the rebellion. Though they met with a reverse at the beginning, they succeed in re-establishing the Sulṭān's authority. As a mark of recognition of their services, the Sulṭān appointed them as the rulers of Karṇāṭa. This was how these two chiefs acquired the government of Kampili, which became the nucleus of the future empire of Vijayanagara.

It is thus seen that tradition both confirms and supplements the information gleaned from contemporary sources. There is,

however, one point where tradition appears to differ from the contemporary records. The Muhammadan historians, both 'Iṣāmy and Barnī, state that the person whom the Sulṭān sent to Kampila was a Hindu convert to Islām, who subsequently reverted to his original faith and asserted his independence. Tradition does not allude to the change of faith of Harihara and Bukka implying thereby that they had always remained within the fold of the Hindu religion. The silence of the *Kālajñāna*, the *Vṛttānta*, and other works of the kind must not, however, be taken as a contradiction of the statements of contemporary historians. The Hindu writers did not like to record the unpleasant fact, *viz.*, the conversion of the founders of a Hindu kingdom to Islām. Therefore, they kept a judicious silence over it. Tradition does not give the reason why, contrary to the spirit of Islām and the policy of Muhammadan sovereigns of the age, the Sulṭān should release these Hindu captives from prison, and confer on them the governorship of Karṇāṭa. It was not their practice to do so. The truth seems to be that Harihara and Bukka secured their freedom by their upright conduct (13) and, like so many of their contemporaries, rose to prominence in the service of the state by embracing Islām. And the Sulṭān, who showed a distinct partiality to the Hindu converts, received them into his favour, and elevated them to positions of great dignity and responsibility.*

* A summary comparison of the information furnished by tradition and contemporary records is given below :—

Tradition.	Contemporary records.
1. Harihara and Bukka were the sons of Sangama of Mangaḷanilaya. Their brothers were Kampaṇa, Mārapa and Muddapa.	1. Harihara and Bukka were the sons of Sangama of Yādava race. Their brothers were Kampaṇa, Mārapa, and Muddpa. (*N. D. I.* i, Cp. No. 15.)
2. They entered the service of Pratāparudra of Warangal. They served him as the *pratīhāras* of his treasury.	2. Bukka must have been a subordinate of Pratāparudra about A.D. 1314. (*N.D.I.* ii, Kg. 7).
3. The Sulṭān of Dehlī defeated Pratāparudra and captured him.	3. The Sulṭān defeated Pratāparudra, and captured him. (*E.D.* iii, p. 223.)

Tradition.	Contemporary records.
4. Harihara and Bukka fled to the court of Rāmanātha, the son of Kampilirāya, married into his family and entered his service.	4. Nil.
5. Mahāndhēśvara's (Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's) soldiers killed Rāmanātha, and carried away Harihara and Bukka as prisoners to the camp or the city of the Sulṭān.	5. Muḥammad bin Tughlaq killed Kampilidēva in battle and annexed his kingdom [*E. D.* iii, pp. 614-15; 'Iṣāmy, *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* (5, 6.)]
6. The Sulṭān released them from prison, and sent them to Karṇāṭa with an army to subdue Ballāḷa who rebelled against him.	6. A relation of Kampila who embraced Islām was sent by the Sulṭān some time before 1336 A. D. to govern Kampila (*Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, Madras Govt. Or. Mss. Lib. D. No. 258). As Harihara was ruling over Kampila in A.D., 1336, 1340, 1342 and 1347 [*N. D. I.* i, Cp. 15; *I. A.* x, p. 63; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Travels* (Broadway Travellers), pp. 230-1] and 'Iṣāmy, *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* (5, 6), he must be the relation of Kampila whom the Sulṭān sent to govern Kampila.
7. Harihara and Bukka came to Karṇāṭa but were defeated by Ballāḷa.	7. Nil.
8. They met Vidyāraṇya, fought against Ballāḷa for the second time and defeated him.	8. Nil.
9. The Sulṭān appointed them the governors of Karṇāṭaka in appreciation of their services.	9. See 6 above. The relation of Kampila *i.e.*, Harihara apostatised from Islām and rebelled against the Sulṭān.
10. They ruled at first in Āneyagondi, and later founded, on the advice of Vidyāraṇya, a city called Vidyānagara, on the southern bank of the Tungabhadrā.	10. Harihara ruled at first in Hastikōṇa (Āneyagondi) (*N. D. I.* i, Cp. 15). And later, he founded, on the advice of Vidyāraṇya, a city called Vidyānagara on the southern bank of the Tungabhadrā. (*Ibid.*)
11. Nil.	11. He conquered the whole of the Kannaḍa including the Hoysala kingdom and Konkaṇa ['Iṣāmy (7); *E. C.* iv, Yd. 46; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, (Broadway Travellers) pp. 230-31].
12. Nil.	12. The conquest was completed by A.D. 1346, when Harihara, his brothers, and his subordinates, met at Śṛngēri and celebrated a feast in commemoration of the conquest of the country from the eastern to the western sea, under the presidency of Bhāratī Tīrtha. (*E.C.* vi, Sg. 1).

CHAPTER IV

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

It has been shown that Harihara was sent to Kampili by Sulṭān Muḥammad to suppress a rebellion, and on the successful execution of the commission appointed, as the governor of Karṇāṭa. These events must have taken place before 1336 A.D., as Harihara was ruling from Āneyagondi, from that year onwards. However, he is said to have rebelled against the Sulṭān soon after this date, and asserted his independence at Kampili so that the country was lost by the Mussalmans.* Why did Harihara rebel against the Sulṭān? and how did he manage to establish himself as an independent ruler? A satisfactory answer to these questions involves a discussion of some problems connected with the expansion of the Mussalman power in the Deccan.

The Muhammadan conquest of the Deccan which was commenced by the K͟haljis was completed by the Tug͟hlaqs. 'Alā-ud-Dīn K͟haljī subdued all the Hindu kingdoms in the south, and exacted tribute from their rulers. Towards the close of his reign he annexed the Yādava kingdom of Dēvagiri, as a consequence of Sankhama's rebellion after the death of his father, Rāmadēva. G͟hiyāṣ-ud-Dīn Tug͟hlaq inaugurated the policy of systematic annexation of the Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan which his son and successor Muḥammad bin Tug͟hlaq successfully carried out. The Kākatīya kingdom of Warangal was overthrown in A.D. 1323, and Telingāṇa was incorporated with the empire of Dehlī. The ruler of Kampili who for a time withstood the attacks of the Sulṭān's armies was slain in 1326-7 A. D., and his territory passed into the hands of the victor. Ballāḷa III saved himself and his kingdom by timely submission, and Ma'bar, which was constantly harassed by the Hindu and the Muhammadan

* *E. D.* iii, pp. 245-46.

remain frequently closeted with the *jōgies,* and gave place in his mind to the practices of the infidels."*

This open contempt for the doctrines of Islām created much opposition to the Sulṭān. Sincere followers of the faith regarded the Sulṭān as an embodiment of evil, and concerted measures to get rid of him. "Rebellion of the country against him," says 'Iṣāmy, "was justified. The Muhammadan law approved of slaying him. The order of the Qāẓis went round enjoining people who were embittered by his machinations to put him to death; and Providence closed against him the path of escape..."†

No wonder, the Muhammadan soldiers who had other grievances against the Sulṭān took advantage of the decree of the Qāẓis to set up the standard of revolt. The country was thrown into confusion. Province after province rose up in rebellion, and it appeared as if the power of the Sulṭān had vanished altogether. He was greatly embarassed; but his spirit was not broken. He made up his mind not to be beaten by the Qāẓis. By a clever move, he cut the ground under the feet of his opponents. He sought for and obtained recognition from the puppet Abbaside Caliph, Al-Mustakfī who was living at Cairo at this time. He had his name removed from the coins, and substituted that of the Caliph. He ordered that in reading the *khuṭba,* only the names of the Sulṭāns, who obtained recognition from the Abbaside Caliphs should be mentioned and others omitted.‡ The Sulṭān had by these actions established his claims to orthodoxy; but, though he exerted all his energies to subdue the rebels, his efforts were not crowned with success.

The Hindus of the Deccan did not fail to take advantage of the troubles of the Sulṭān. The memory of the freedom which they had lost recently was still green in their minds, and the threatened destruction of their religion and culture by

* *Futūḥ-us Salāṭīn,* (Agra Edition), p. 491.

† *Ibid,* pp. 491-2.

‡ *E. D.* iii, pp. 249-50.

the fanaticism of Islām called for some concerted action. The destruction caused by the Muhammadan armies was indeed wide-spread. Temples and other religious foundations excited their special wrath. They carried away everything which could be moved and what they could not carry, they either demolished or burnt to ashes. Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr, obtained the title of 'the idol breaking Malik' on account of his iconoclastic tendencies. He destroyed 'the golden temple' at Marhatpūr* and shattered the images of Śiva and Viṣṇu†; he plundered the temple of Śrīrangam, killed the Vaiṣṇavas and carried away the idols‡; 'he destroyed all the temples at Bīrdhūl, and placed the plunder in the public treasury',§ and he burnt down the temple of Cokkanātha at Madura¶. The example of Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr was followed by all the other invaders. As a consequence of the continuous spoliation and destruction of temples the religious activities suffered a set back. The inscriptions of this period which allude to these events give us an idea of the confusion caused by the lawless behaviour of the invaders. An epigraph found in the Abhirāmēśvara temple at Tiruvāmāttūr in the North Arcot district "refers to an invasion of the Tulukkar, *i. e.*, Muhammadans which took place in 'previous days' and to 'the ruin of the country' brought about by invasion".$ Two records of Tirupattūr in the Ramnad district,‖ describe the occupation of the local Śiva temple by the Muhammadans, and its consequent ruin. The Muhammadan occupation of the temple premises must have taken place before 1339 A. D. when it was reconsecrated by a certain Viśālayadēva. According to the epigraphist, it must have taken place somewhere about 1310 A. D.| The general condition of Madura country during the Muhammadan occupation is briefly described in an inscription of Tirukkaḷākkuḍi: "The times were Tulukkan times; the *dēvadāna* lands of the

* *The Devalrānī and Khizr Khān*, (Aligarh Edition), p. 72.

† *Khazā'inul Futūḥ* (Ḥabib's Translation) pp. 102-4.

‡ *The Kōyiloḻugu*, (Ripon Press Edition, 1888), p. 51.

§ *E. D.* iii, p. 91.

¶ *Ibid*; *Khazā'inul Futūḥ* (Ḥabib's Translation), pp. 104-5.

$ 434 of 1903; *A.R.E.* 1904, p. 14.

‖ 119, 120 of 1908.

| *A.R.E*, 1909, Part II, p. 82.

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gods were taxed with *kuḍimai*; the temple worship, however, had to be conducted without any reduction; the *uḷavu* or the cultivation of the temple lands was done by turns by the tenants of the village."* The *Maduraittala Varalāṟu*, a chronicle of the sacred city of Madura, gives a more vivid account.

"For a period of forty-eight years from Śaka 1246–93, the place was under Mussalman sway; the god of the place went to Nāñjilnāḍu, and the *Pañjākṣaratirumadil*, the enclosing wall, named after the five letters composing the name of Śiva, namely *Ōm Namaśivāya*, and the fourteen *gōpuras* (gateways) as well as the streets were pulled down. The sanctum of Nāyagar (Lord) temple, the *ardhamaṇḍapam* (the inner hall) and the *mahāmaṇḍapam* (the outer hall) alone escaped destruction." All the temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu, were closed.† It is, however, Gangādēvī, that narrates in detail the misery caused by the Muhammadans.

"The temples in the land have fallen into neglect, as worship in them has been stopped. Within their walls the frightful howls of the jackals have taken the place of the sweet reverberations of *mṛdanga*. Like the Turuṣkas who know no limits, the Kāvērī has forgotten her ancient boundaries, and brings frequent destruction with her floods. The sweet odour of the sacrificial smoke and the chant of the Vedas have deserted the villages (*agrahāras*) which are now filled with the foul smell of roasted flesh and the fierce noise of the ruffianly Turuṣkas. The suburban gardens of Madura present a most painful sight; many of their beautiful cocoanut palms have been cut down; and on every side are seen rows of stakes from which swing strings of human skulls strung together. The Tāmraparṇī is flowing red with the blood of the slaughtered cows. The Veda is forgotten; and justice has gone into hiding; there is not left any trace of virtue or nobility in the

* 64 of 1916, *A.R.E.* 1916, Part II, p. 126.

† *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, Appendix E, p. 374.

land and despair is writ large on the faces of the unfortunate Drāviḍas."*

The condition of the Hindus outside the Drāviḍa and the Pāṇḍya countries was no better. The Muhammadan conquerors believed that they were commissioned by Providence to trample upon the Hindus. The doctors of their faith preached that it was the duty of the true believers to maltreat the Hindus; and the rulers thought that it was their duty to be inhuman. The advice that Qāẓī Mughīṣ-ud-Dīn of Bayāna gave to 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī on how an orthodox Muhammadan king should treat his Hindu subjects is well-known.†

Muslim rulers plundered the Hindus, deprived them of their property, prohibited them from practising their religion, and put thousands of them to death without any justification. 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī was convinced that the Hindus would not become 'obedient and submissive' until they were reduced to poverty. He 'left them from year to year of corn, milk, curds, just enough for them to live', so that they might not accumulate wealth. He prohibited the Hindus from riding on horses, wearing fine apparel, and going on hunt.‡ Muḥammad bin Tughlaq hunted them like wild animals; Fīrūz Shāh suppressed the performance of the Hindu religious rites in public.§ Hindu pilgrims to Benares were compelled to pay vexatious levies, and Hindu rulers in different parts of India found the need to create endowments for enabling poor pilgrims to meet this impost.¶ Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, the monstrous sulṭān of Madura, slaughtered inoffensive Hindus every day. This was the character of the Mussalman rule, under which the Deccan and South India passed in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The Hindus, who chafed under such tyranny, were naturally eager to overthrow the Muslim power and regain their lost freedom; and the political unrest that was

* K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 242-3.
† *E.D.* iii, p. 184.
‡ *Ibid*, pp. 184-5.
§ *Ibid*, p. 365.
¶ *M. A. R.* 1909, para. 85

engendered by the Sulṭān's high-handed policy and the selfish designs of his ambitious subordinates offered them fair chances of success.

Sayyid Jalāl who was the *kotwāl* of Madura killed the *amīrs* and declared his independence in Ma'bar in or about A.D. 1334* Sulṭān Muḥammad is said to have despatched an army to suppress the rebellion, but it joined the rebel leader. Therefore, the Sulṭān having resolved to lead the campaign in person collected an army and marched to Dēvagiri. Having attended to some administrative affairs, he proceeded towards Ma'bar by way of Telingāṇa. When he reached Warangal, where plague was prevalent, his army caught the contagion, and several nobles and a large number of soldiers died. The Sulṭān himself was attacked, and his condition was so grave that rumours of his death spread in the provinces.

The strength of the Sulṭān's army seems to have been greatly reduced by the plague. His own sickness, coupled with the rumour of his death, excited rebellion. Hoshang, one of the *amīrs* ruling near Daulatābād, revolted; but on hearing of the approach of the Sulṭān's army he fled to Konkan.

The abandonment of the Ma'bar campaign by the Sulṭān reduced the prestige of the imperial government considerably. Ma'bar became an independent kingdom; and the example of Sayyid Jalāl proved contagious; the dormant ambition of the provincial governors was roused, and several attempted to carve out independent kingdoms for themselves even as Sayyid Jalāl had done.

*The exact date of the outbreak of this rebellion is not known. All that we know about it is that the Sultān reached Warangal with an army to suppress this rebellion in A.D. 1335. The rebellion, therefore, must have broken out some time before. As he is said to have despatched an army already to put down the rebellion, and as he was obliged to lead a second expedition as a consequence of the first joining the rebel leader, it may be presumed, considering the distance between Dehlī and Madura (six months' journey), that the rebellion broke out in 1334 or a little earlier. The *Maduraittala-Varalāṛu* states that the first Ulāpatikhān (Ulugh Khān) ruled from 1326 to 1331 A.D. If Ulugh Khān is identified with Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, 1331 A.D. must be regarded as the latest date of his rule in Maḍura. The matter must be further investigated.

Owing to the outbreak of disturbances in his kingdom Sulṭān Muḥammad could not pay any attention to the events that happened in the remote corners of his dominions. Sayyid Ibrāhīm, the purse-bearer, rebelled at Hānsī, while the Sulṭān was at Dēvagiri. There were other disturbances besides Therefore, the Sulṭān appointed Nuṣrat Khān as the governor of Western Telingāṇa with his capital at Bīdar, entrusted the administration of Dēvagiri and the Marhaṭṭa country to Qutlugh Khān and returned to Dehlī either at the end of 1335 A. D. or early next year. While he was in Dehlī information reached him that Shāhu Afghān or Shāhu Lōdī rebelled in Lahore; and he immediately marched against him in person. The rebel fled in panic, and the Sulṭān returned to Dehlī. After a short stay in the capital, he marched to Sannām and Sāmāna to suppress the Hindus who withheld tribute and created disturbances. While he was engaged in putting down this rebellion, the Hindus of Telingāṇa and Kampili threw off the Muslim yoke and asserted their independence. A severe famine which occurred during that year produced much distress in Northern India. The Sulṭān remained in a camp called Sargadwārī, on the banks of the Ganges distributing corn among the famine stricken inhabitants of the Doab. Nuṣrat Khān rose up in rebellion in the Deccan; and Qutlugh Khān was engaged in putting him down. In the next year the Sulṭān despatched a large army against some independent kingdoms in the Himalayas. Nagarkot (Kangra) was captured. Fakr-ud-Dīn asserted his independence in Bengal in A.D. 1338—9. 'Alī Shāh Nathu revolted at Gulburga in A.D. 1340, and attempted to establish himself as an independent monarch in the Deccan; but Qutlugh Khān suppressed his rebellion and sent him and his dependents to the Sulṭān at Dehlī. Niẓām-ul-Mulk, a low born adventurer, revolted in Kaṛa in the next year and assumed the title of 'Alā-ud-Dīn. His rebellion was, however, easily put down. The Sulṭān, who began to entertain suspicions about Qutlugh Khān resolved to recall him from the Deccan and appointed 'Ain-ul-Mulk as the governor of Daulatābād; but 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was unwilling to leave

Oudh, revolted, and the Sulṭān defeated him in the battle of Kanauj and took him prisoner. No other untoward event seems to have disturbed the peace of the kingdom, until 1343 A.D. It was in this year that Muḥammad Tughlaq took an important step which soon terminated his authority in the Deccan. He committed the blunder of superseding Qutlugh Khān by Maulānā Niẓām-ud-Dīn 'Ālim-ul-Mulk in the viceroyalty of the Deccan. The turbulent '*Amīrs* of the Hundred' who were kept under check by the tactful management of Qutlugh Khān showed scant respect to the new governor, and the authority of the Sulṭān suffered an eclipse.*

This brief survey of the events which happened between A.D. 1334 and A.D. 1344 makes it obvious that the affairs of the empire of Dehlī were in a state of confusion, and as a consequence the Sulṭān did not find it possible to enforce his authority in the outlying parts of his territories. The abandonment of the idea of a second campaign to suppress Sayyid Jalāl's rebellion after the abortive expedition of 1335 A.D., and the tacit acquiescence in the assumption of sovereignty of Malik Fakr-ud-Dīn over Bengal in 1338—9 A.D., show clearly how helpless the Sulṭān was to combat the progress of disintegration.

It was in these circumstances that the Hindus of the Deccan endeavoured to expel the Muhammadans from their land and re-establish their power. The movement of Hindu independence had its origin in Telingāṇa; it seems to have spread rapidly westwards and southwards. It was essentially religious in character, and its object was the restoration of the Hindu *dharma* which had almost sunk in the ocean of Islām. Naturally enough the movement started under the aegis of god Viśvēśvara of Kāśī, for the protection of the cows and the Brahmans, the two characteristic symbols of the Hindu *dharma*. Harihara I renounced Islām, and reverted to his former faith

* N. Venkataramanayya: '*The Date of the Rebellions of Tilang and Kampilah: Indian Culture* v, pp. 135–46, 261–69. Cf. Haig: *J.R.A.S.* 1922, pp. 362-3.

through the instrumentality of the sage Vidyāraṇya, who exercised, in his capacity as the head of the local Advaita *maṭha*, considerable influence over the Hindu population. Vidyāraṇya appears to have suggested that Harihara should surrender his territory to the god Virūpākṣa of Hampi and thenceforward administer it as an agent of the god; and he seems to have promised in return to re-admit him into the Hindu fold, and help him in establishing his sway over the Hindus of South India. Harihara surrendered the kingdom to Vidyāraṇya, the visible representative and the agent of the god, for his re-admission into the Hindu fold. Thencefoward, God Virūpākṣa became the *de jure* sovereign of the kingdom. Vidyāraṇya gave back the kingdom to Harihara, and commanded him in the name of the god, to administer it on his behalf. Harihara accepted the command, and began to rule the kingdom theoretically as an agent of the god. That was how he came to adopt *Śrī Virūpākṣa* as his sign manual. By surrendering the kingdom to God Virūpākṣa, Harihara secured the support of Vidyāraṇya and the pontiff of Śṛṅgēri, and as a servant of the god, and friend and disciple of the *Jagadguru*, he became naturally the accepted leader of the Hindus of Karṇāṭaka.

Harihara was now ready to free himself from his subordination to Dehlī, and he found the atmosphere quite congenial to his schemes of aggrandisement. He also discovered an ally whose support strengthened his position immensely. Kanyā (Kāpaya) Nāyaka, the leader of the Telingāṇa Hindus had succeeded in bringing together all the Hindu chiefs of his country, and he came forward with a proposal that Harihara should join him and his allies to expel the Muhammadans from South India.

The rebellion of Kanyā (Kāpaya) Nāyaka has been described by Barnī; and the later Muhammadan historians add but little to what he has said. According to Barnī, Kanyā (Kāpaya) Nāyaka rebelled, when the Sulṭān was at Sannām and

Sāmāna putting down the local disturbances caused by the brigands. "While this was going on," says he, "a revolt broke out among the Hindus of Arangal. Kanyā Nāyak had gathered strength in the country, Malik Maqbūl, the *nā'ib wazīr*, fled to Dehlī, and the Hindus took possession of Arangal, which was thus entirely lost. About the same time one of the relations of Kambala* whom the Sulṭān had sent to Kambala, apostatised from Islām and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kambala also was thus lost, and fell into the hands of the Hindus."

Barnī seems to suggest that the rebellions of Telingāṇa and Kampila were somehow connected. The nature of this connection is explained by Ferishta in a passage of his history which though teeming with inaccuracies contains some valuable information.

"And at this time (A.H. 744), Kiṣṇā Nāyak (Kambā), the son of Luddar Dēv, who was living in the neighbourhood of Warangal having gone privately to Balāl Dēv who was the great king of Karṇāṭak said,—

"The Mussalmans having entered the countries of Tiling and Karṇāṭak desire that they should extirpate us once for all. Deliberation concerning this matter is imperative.

"Balāl Dēv summoned all his nobles and asked their advice. After careful consideration and close examination, it was resolved that Bālal Dēv leaving the whole of his kingdom behind, should make the path of the armies of Islām on the frontier his capital; and Ma'bar, Dhōrasamand and Kambila should be wrested from the Mussalmans; and Kiṣṇā Nāyak, making use of his power at this time which was opportune, should also take Warangal from the court of Dehlī.

"Balāl Dēv built in an inaccessible place in the hilly tract on his own frontier, a town called after the name of his son

* *E.D.* iii, pp. 245-46. The word Kambala (Kampila) has been substituted for Kanyā Nāyak of Elliot's translation in conformity with the reading of the Madras Text.

Bījan Rāi which became famous as Bījan Nagar. In course of time owing to constant usage it was known as Bījānagar. Taking considerable foot and horse along with him Kiṣṇā Nāyak first took possession of Warangal. Malik 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the *wazīr*, fled to Daulatābād. Afterwards, Balāl Dēv having sent help to Kiṣṇā Nāyak, they drew from both the sides the Rāis of Ma'bar and Dhōrasamand, who had been the tributaries of the king of Karṇāṭak from ancient times, out of the power of the Mussalmans. And the sleeping unrest having been awakened everywhere none of the distant provinces of the kingdom remained in the possession of the emperor excepting Gujarāt and Dēvgīr."*

The first point that calls for comment is the date of Kiṣṇā Nāyak's visit to the court of Ballāḷa III. It took place according to Ferishta in A.H. 744 (1343–44); but this date is impossible, for, in the first place Ballāḷa III, who was taken prisoner by the Sulṭān of Madura in September 1342 A.D., was assassinated a few months later in his prison, and his son Ballāḷa IV, who ascended the throne in June 1343 A.D., was obliged to seek shelter at Khārēpaṭṭan on the west coast after a brief rule of three months.† Secondly, the place which Barnī assigns to this revolt in the list of the rebellions of Muḥammad Tughlaq's reign seems to indicate an earlier date. At the time of Ḳanyā Nāyak's revolt, the Sulṭān is said to have been engaged in reducing the Hindus of Sannām and Sāmāna to subjection. This happened, as noticed already, in 1336 A.D. It follows from this that Kanyā Nāyak rose in revolt in the same year. Lastly, Ferishta's chronology for this period is far from accurate. It is found on examination that it is in advance of the actual chronology by seven years. If the error is rectified, Ferishta's date is found to be in total agreement with the chronological data furnished by Barnī. Therefore, Kiṣṇā Nāyaka's visit to Ballāḷa's court took place in 737 A.H. and not

* The *Tarīkh-i-Ferishta* (Naval Kishore Press) Part I, p. 138.

† *The Origin of the City and the Empire of Vijayanagara*, p. 141, n. 144; 'Iṣāmy: *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 562.

seven years later as it is generally believed.* The other facts mentioned by Ferishta in the passage under consideration do not admit of such an easy explanation.

The name of the Hindu leader of Telingāṇa is wrongly given not only by Ferishta but by most other Muhammadan historians. Barnī calls him Kanyā Nāyak†; Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad refers to him as Kanyā Pāik‡; and Ferishta gives him the name of Kiṣṇā Nāyak, and makes him a son of Luddar Dēv. The name of the leader of the Telingāṇa rebellion was not Kanyā or Kiṣṇā Nāyak, nor was he a son of Pratāparudra. On these points our evidence is conclusive. An examination of relevant epigraphical material shows that Warangal and the neighbouring country was under the sway of a chief called Kāpaya Nāyaka, son of Masunūri Dēvaya Nāyaka, between 1344 and 1354 A.D. He expelled the Mussalmans from Telingāṇa and re-established the Hindu government.§ The evidence of the inscriptions is corroborated by Sayyid 'Alī Azīz-ul-lah Ṭabāṭabā who frequently refers to the ruler of Telingāṇa in 1348 A. D. as Kabānīd, Kabānāyand or Kanābāyand¶. Any doubts that may be entertained about his name are set at rest by 'Iṣāmy, a contemporary writer, who invariably alludes to him as Kaba or Kabānīd. The name as written by 'Iṣāmy and Sayyid 'Alī consists of two words Kabā and Nīḍ or Nāyaṇḍ. Nīḍ or Nīḍu is a common contraction of Nāyaṇḍ or Nāyaṇḍu, an appellation borne by the members of several communities in the Telugu country. Kaba or Kabā (a scribal error for Kapa or Kapā) is identical with Kāpa. It is therefore reasonable to hold that the correct name of the ruler of Telingāṇa about 1345 A.D., and consequently of the leader of the Telingāṇa rebellion against Muḥammad Tughlaq in 1336 A.D., is Kāpaya Nāyaka. As he was the son of Musunūri Dēvaya Nāyaka and a cousin of

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* *Indian Culture* v, pp. 268–9.

† *E.D.* III, p. 245. ‡ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* I, (Bib. Ind. No. 223), p. 207.

§ *J.B.O.R.S.* xx, p. 260, *S.I.I.* iv, No. 950; *The Telingāṇa Inscriptions*, Misc. No. 13 and *A.S.P.P.* ii, No. 2.

¶ *I.A.* xxviii, pp. 145-146.

Prōlaya Nāyaka, he could not have been the son of Luddar Dēv or Pratāparudra as Ferishta would have us believe.

Again, according to Ferishta, 'Imād-ul-Mulk was the governor of Telingāṇa at the time of Kāpaya (Kanyā) Nāyak's rebellion. This is not true. Barnī states that Malik Maqbūl, the Nā'ib Wazīr, held sway over Telingāṇa;* and his statement is confirmed by Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad.† There is no evidence to show that Malik Maqbūl had also the title of 'Imād-ul-Mulk.

Lastly, Ferishta attributes to Ballāḷa the foundation of a city called Bījānagar which he confounds with the capital of the famous Vijayanagara empire. The following facts must be taken into consideration in this context. The city which Ballāḷa is said to have founded stood on the northern frontier of his own dominions; and at the time of the foundation of this city, the kingdom of Kampili with its capitals Ānegondi and Kummaṭa as well as Hampi around which a new city called Vijayanagara was soon to grow was governed by Harihara I who was still a subordinate of the Sulṭān of Dehlī. Therefore, the city founded by Ballāḷa on the frontier of his own kingdom could not have been identical with Vijayanagara which arose in the immediate neighbourhood of Ānegondi, the capital of Harihara I, the governor of Kampili.

Moreover, Ferishta does not adhere to this story of the origin of the city of Vijayanagara; for, in the concluding chapter of his history he gives another account which has nothing in common with the above. "The other great rāja of Hindustan is the rāja of Karṇāṭak in the Deccan. One of the kings of that place called Bijay Cand who was on the royal throne nine hundred years before this time, caused a city to be built and named it Bījānagar after his own name in as much as he founded it. His descendants knowing it to be auspicious took considerable trouble in making it populous, so that the

* *E. D.* iii, p. 245.

† *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* I (Tr.), p. 224.

inhabited area of that city extended over seven miles. The first person who made rebellion manifest in Hindustan and gave currency to sedition and mutiny against the rāja of the kingdom of Kanauj is the ancestor of the Rāyas of Karṇāṭak. So it has been described. Mahārāj who was his contemporary, going out on an expedition against Subvā Rāy, the ruler of the Deccan, expelled him (from his kingdom); but his descendants held the sovereignty from generation to generation until that time when (the king) of the name of Rāmarāj having waged war on the rulers of the Deccan was killed in 970 A.H. After that, his descendants having gathered strength acquired the sovereignty over the peoples of that kingdom."*

An examination of the facts mentioned in this account is not necessary for the persent purpose. It is enough to point out that Ferishta had no definite information regarding the circumstances of the foundation of Vijayanagara and that he incorporated into his history whatever story reached his ear without regard to consistency. Therefore, no importance need be attached to the testimony of Ferishta in this matter. In spite of these inaccuracies, his account of the rebellion of Tiling may be taken to be substantially true.

What part Harihara played in this rebellion is not stated by Ferishta. No doubt he makes mention of Ballāḷa's desire to free Kampila and other kingdoms from the thraldom of the Mussalmans; but he does not refer to this country again. It may, however, be inferred from the statement that nothing remained in the hands of the Sulṭān except Gujarāt and Dēvagiri, that Kampili also regained its independence. Ferishta probably exaggerated the part played by Ballāḷa in the liberation of the South; for he is not even mentioned in this connection by the contemporary historians. Neither 'Iṣāmy nor Barnī alludes to Ballāḷa while describing the southern rebellions, though they refer to the activities of Kanyā Nāyak and the governor of Kampili. An important fact which seems

* *The Tarīkh-i-Ferishta* (Naval Kishore Press), Part ii, p. 420.

to have a bearing on this subject must be noticed here. Harihara assumed about this time the significant title of *Hindūrāya Suratrāṇa* i. e. the Sulṭān (lord paramount) of the Hindu kings; which clearly indicates that he claimed not only the sovereignty over the Hindus but equality of status with the Sulṭān of Dehlī who was the overlord of all the Mussalmans in India. Since the assumption of this title by Harihara coincided in point of time with the outbreak of the rebellion in Tiling and Kampili, it is not unreasonable to believe that he not only participated in the rebellion but assumed its leadership.

The Hindu confederacy which Harihara joined was indeed powerful. It included among its adherents all the Hindu rulers of the South. According to Ferishta, besides Kiṣṇā Nāyak and Balāl Dēv, the Rājas of Ma'bar and Dhōrasamand took part in it. It is not easy to identify the two princes mentioned last. The Rāja of Ma'bar was probably Ballāḷa's friend and ally Vīra Pāṇḍya who continued to rule over the northern districts of the old Pāṇḍyan empire until 1340 A. D.* Ferishta's inclusion of the Rāja of Dhōrasamand as distinguished from Ballāḷa among the leaders of the confederacy must be attributed to his carelessness, if not actually to his ignorance.

Besides these, several other Hindu kings participated in this war of liberation. Prōlaya Vēma, the founder of the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu is said to have expelled the Muhammadans from the country and restored the *agrahāras* which they had seized to the Brahmans in a record of 1345 A.D.† Vēma appears to have joined Kāpaya Nāyaka, of whom he is said to have been a subordinate,‡ in waging war upon the Mussalmans and expelling them from the Telugu country. Mummaḍi Nāyaka of Kōrukoṇḍa who married a daughter of Kāpaya Nāyaka's sister must have also assisted his distinguished

* K. A. N. Sastri: *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 240.

† *E. I.* viii, pp. 9 f.

‡ *A.S.P.P.* ii, pp. 3 f.

relative in establishing the national independence.* Many other chiefs besides those mentioned above must have joined their forces with the leaders of the movement and strengthened their hands.

The representatives of the Sulṭān of Dehlī, who had to maintain the authority of their master, over a hostile population whom they had done nothing to conciliate, could not carry on the administration of the country in the changed condition. The small band of Muslims in the Deccan had by this time become hostile to the Sulṭān. And the Hindus in whose disunion lay the strength of the Muslim power, joined together and presented solid opposition to the continuance of their rule. Under these circumstances the Muhammadans found themselves in a sorry predicament, and were obliged to retire from the country hastily. Barnī describes the situation briefly. "Malik Maqbūl, the *nā'ib-wazīr* fled to Dehlī and the Hindus took possession of Arangal, which was thus entirely lost. ...The land of Kambala was also thus lost, and fell into the hands of the Hindus. Dēvgīr and Gujarāt alone remained secure."†

The Hindus of South India seem never to have learnt the value of stable unity. They reverted to their original state of selfish autonomy, and hampered the progress of the Hindu cause. The Velamas of Rācakoṇḍa and the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu declined to recognise the sovereignty of Kāpaya Nāyaka, and set up independent states. The Reḍḍis of Kōrukoṇḍa and the Nāyaks of Piṭhāpuram followed their example, and they began to fight with one another for supremacy. The conduct of the Velamas of Rācakoṇḍa was indeed most unpatriotic. They not only made war upon Kāpaya Nāyaka frequently but joined the Sulṭān of Gulbarga (34) and brought about his downfall. The political unity of Telingāṇa which was effected by the fear of Muslim domination vanished soon after the expulsion of the Muslim governor. The other parts of the peninsula were not entirely free from separatist

* *E. I.* xiii, p. 272.

† *E. D.* iii, pp. 245-6.

tendencies. Ballāḷa was not disposed to regard Harihara as an independent monarch. The Hoysala and the Vijayanagara inscriptions of this period reveal a state of hostility between the two kingdoms*; but Ballāḷa's preoccupation with affairs of Madura, and his captivity and death in 1342-3 A.D. freed Harihara from an ambitious and powerful enemy.

The work of the Hindu confederacy was not, however, completely undone; and Harihara kept steadily in view the objects for which the confederacy came to existence. He was convinced that the integrity of his kingdom and the Hindu freedom could be permanently preserved only by eliminating the numerous kingdoms and petty principalities whose existence constituted a source of weakness to his cause. Fortunately, he had the necessary strength and resources to destroy the rival kingdoms and impose his authority over a large part of South India. Thus the founder of Vijayanagara was obliged to undertake the subjugation of the southern kingdoms in the interests of the Hindu civilisation.

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* *Origin of City and Empire of Vijayanagara*, pp. 135-8.

CHAPTER V

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF VIJAYANAGARA.

Tradition, embodied in *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* and other works, attributes the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara to Vidyāraṇya. But Nuniz states that Deorão or Dehorão whom Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq sent to govern the kingdom of Nagundym (Ānegondi) built a city on the banks of the river Nagundy (Tungabhadrā) on the advice of a sage called Vidyajuna (Vidyāraṇya)*. Now, both these statements are supported by the evidence of the inscriptions and literature belonging to the middle of the 14th century.

Two inscriptions assigned to the year A.D. 1347 refer to the city of Vidya, distinguished as the abode of Vijaya (victory), made by Vidyāraṇya.† Their evidence is corroborated by the *Virūpākṣa Campu* of Ahōbaḷapati who refers to Dēvanṛpati "as the king-emperor of the city built by Vidyāraṇya, the prince of ascetics."‡ Who was this Dēvanṛpati? Could he be one of the two Dēvarāyas who ruled at Vijayanagara during the 15th century? The evidence of the book is against any such identification. It must have been written during the life-time of Vidyāraṇya, as the author, who was an eye-witness of the spring festival described in the work, states that Vidyāraṇya, accompanied by his disciples, came to offer worship to the processional images of Virūpākṣa and Pampāmbikā after they were installed in the temple car for being taken round the streets.§ As Vidyāraṇya died in the year 1386 A.D., the date

* *Forgotten Empire*, p. 301.

† *E.C.* X, Mb. 158 ; Gd. 46. The dating of these inscriptions is defective.

‡ ......*Sa ēṣa khlau tad rāj-ānvavāy-ōdbhavō*
Vidyāraṇya-yatīndra-nirmita-pura-Śrī Cakrvartī nṛpaḥ.

§ *Tatō Vidyāraṇyābhidha-yati-varē bhūsura-gurau*
Samārūḍhē siddhais=saha ratham imam harmya-sadṛśam
Vidhāy-āsau pūjām Parama-Śiva-mūrtyōḥ punar=api
Dvijō-'thastat=tatra vyajanakara āstāsti mahimān (?).

of the composition of the *Virūpākṣa Campu* must be placed earlier. Therefore the Dēvanṛpati mentioned in the work, cannot be identified either with Dēvarāya I or Dēvarāya II. He must be identified with one of the early kings of Vijayanagara. The *Virūpākṣa Campu* itself seems to offer the clue for the identification of Dēvanṛpati. The name of Harihara is introduced in three passages with *double entendre*.*

The author appears to have intentionally introduced the name of Harihara in these passages. According to them, the story of Harihara was recited in the streets of Hampi. There was no shrine dedicated to the god Harihara in the place; nor was his name associated with it in any manner. It may, however, be pointed out that 'Harihara' of these passages does not refer to any deity of that place but to Viṣṇu and Śiva (Hari and Hara). Even after admitting the reasonableness of this view, the name 'Harihara' still demands explanation, when the passages are interpreted as having reference to a human being. Who was this Harihara whose glories were sung in the streets of Hampi? It is not unreasonable to think that he was none other than the king himself. If this is admitted, it follows that at the time of the composition of *Virūpākṣa Campu,* there ruled at Vidyānagara a king of the name of Harihara. Between A.D. 1336 and A.D. 1386, two kings bearing this name sat upon the throne of Vijayanagara. One of them, Harihara, the son of Sangama, ruled from A.D. 1336 to A.D. 1356 ; and the other, his nephew, the son of his

* *Vṛṣasyantī kācit pulina-nikaṭē tatra naḷinī*
Viniśvasy-ēdānīm Harihara caritram sumahitam
Parastrī-mōhārtham sarasam abhinītam naṭa-viṭaiḥ
Priyas-tēṣām draṣṭum gata iti sakhīm-āha vacanam.

Again,

Nanu, Vidwan...sakala-dvija-rāja-virājamāna Pampānagarē rathyāyām Harihara bhakt-āgragaṇy-āgaṇya mahima-śaraṇya sat-puruṣa-varēṇya puṇya-carita kathā-śravaṇāya......vartatē.

Again,

Kēṣucit gṛhīta Virūpākṣadēva darśanēṣu sva sva janapada grāmān pratisambhūya gacchatsu-api nibiḍa-tama janatā-bhara-bharitāyām rathyāyām adhika pravartita Harihara śaraṇya-puṇya-caritra kathā-śravaṇ=āsakta=scirēṇa prabhāta kalpām śarvarīm analpam-api alpam=ēva mēnirē.

brother Bukka I, ascended the throne in 1378 A.D. Which of these two is the Harihara mentioned by Ahōbalapati? According to our author, Harihara was also known as Dēvanṛpati.* Nuniz informs us that the founder the kingdom of Vijayanagara and the predecessor of Bucarão was Deorão or Dehorão.† Sewell has correctly indentified him with Harihara I.‡ If the evidence of Nuniz is accepted, then the Harihara Dēvanṛpati of Ahōbalapati must be identified with Harihara I. This identification appears to be reasonable when we take into consideration the comparatively small extent of territory over which Harihara Dēvanṛpati of the *Virūpākṣa Campu* seems to have ruled.

Ahōbalapati mentions several chiefs, evidently subordinates of Harihara Dēvanṛpati, who came to witness the spring festival of Virūpākṣa. These were: Kāśmīrabhūpāla, the chiefs of Śrīrāsi, Mōkṣapura, Rājadurga, Balharipura, Citraśilānagara, Bhujanganagarī, Lakṣmaṇēśvarapurī, Vaṁśanagarī and Ambalapurī on the slopes of the Kapōtagiri.§ All these places are found in the area comprising Kurnool, Bellary, Chitaldrug, Shimoga, North Canara, Belgaum, and Dharwad districts, a region which corresponds to the territory

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* *Nanu brahmann-ētaiḥ kim api tava dattam kim athavā*
Bhavān-ēvaitēbhyō diśati Śiva-ling=arcana-phalam
Madīyam vety-āhar-niśa imam-ahō Dēvanṛpatē
Mayā dattam sarvam phala-kusuma-pañcā(mṛta) kṛtē.

† *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 209, 300.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 27.

§ The term 'Kāśmīrabhūpāla' means the king of Kāshmīr; but it is highly improbable that a king of Kāshmīr should have been a subordinate of the king of Vijayanagara. The term also means a chief of Kāshmīrian birth or nationality. Mādhava, the son of Caundapa, who was a minister of Harihara's younger brother Mārapa in A.D. 1347, was a Kāshmīrian. The Kāśmīrabhūpāla mentioned by Ahōbalapati may be either Mādhava or some other officer of Kāshmīrian extraction.

Śrīrāśi is Sirasi in North Canara district. Mōkṣapura is very probably Mokṣagundam in the Kurnool district. Rājadurga and Balharipura are Rāyadurga and Bellary respectively in the Bellary district. Citraśilānagara is Chitaldrug in the Mysore State; Bhujanganagarī is Nāganūr in the Dharwad district. Lakṣmaṇēśvarapurī is identical with Lakṣmēśwar. As Kapōtagiri is the Sanskrit name of the Kappa Guḍḍe, in the same district, Ambalapurī which is said to have stood in its neighbourhood must be looked for in the same locality. Vaṁśanagarī may be identified either with Belgaum or Balgamve (Vēṇugrāma) in the Shimoga district.

under Harihara I's rule in 1343 A.D. Therefore, the identification of Harihara Dēvanṛpati with Harihara I seems to be reasonable.

It is obvious from the foregoing discussion that, according to Ahōbalapati, who was a contemporary both of Harihara I and Vidyāraṇya, the city of Vidyānagara was built by Vidyāraṇya. Therefore, the *Virūpākṣā Campu* supports the evidence of the two inscriptions mentioned above, and shows that the tradition regarding the origin of Vijayanagara is based on fact.

The Kāpalūr plates dated 1336–37 A.D. however, state that Vidyānagara was built by Harihara I, according to the instructions of Vidyāraṇya; "The sage told the king thus: Oh Lord, found a city named Vidyā, as beautiful as Alaka (Kubēra's city), which shall be a forest of learning (Irā = Sarasvatī, learning)."* The king is said to have carried out the instructions of the sage, and built a city called Vidyānagara, where he celebrated his coronation on Ś. S. 1258 Dhātri, Vaiśākha śu. 7, Puṣya, Hari.† The epigraphical evidence thus corroborates the statement of Nuniz that Harihara I built the city, at the instance of Vidyāraṇya.

But, an inscription dated 1368 A.D. asserts that Bukka I, the younger brother and successor of Harihara, 'having

* *N. D. I.* i, Cp. 15. The reading of the text is *irā-vanaṁ nātha purīm vidadhyāḥ'*. Cf. *E.C.* X, Bg. 70. *atr=āvanī-nātha purīm vidadhyāḥ.*

† It is evident that, according to this inscription, the building of Vidyānagara was completed by this date; but the *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* (14) states that Vidyāraṇya laid the foundations of Vidyānagara on this date. Moreover, according to *Vīrappayya Kālajñāna* (16), Harihararāya ruled at Ānegondi for seven years from Ś.S. 1258 Dhātri, Vaiśākha śu 7 (Saturday, 4th May A.D. 1336). Having constructed Vijayanagara in the Vaiśākha of Svabhānu (April-May A.D. 1343), he ruled in that place for 14 years. Therefore, the term '*viracayya*' occurring in v. 27 of the Kāpalūr plates must not be interpreted literally, but must be understood as having commenced to build. Though the foundations of Vijayanagara were laid in May 4, 1336 A.D., the coronation of the king also was celebrated there at the same time, lest such an auspicious occasion might not occur again in the immediate future. Until the construction of the new city was completed in 1343 A.D., Harihara resided in his old capital; then he removed to Vijayanagara which became the royal residence thenceforward

conquered all the world', 'built a splendid city called the city of victory (Vijayanagarī).'* Thus the tradition and inscriptions attribute the construction of the city to three persons, *viz.*, Vidyāraṇya, Harihara I and Bukka I. How is their testimony to be harmonized? The difficulty is more apparent than real. Vidyāraṇya was the spiritual preceptor of Harihara and Bukka. There is ample evidence to show that they consulted him on almost all the affairs of state. Harihara I 'appointed his younger brother Bukka-Rāja as *yuva-rāja*', and had given to him 'the wealth of the empire.'† Bukka was associated with Harihara in the government of the kingdom. The idea that a new city should be built around the Hēmakūṭa hill had originated in the mind of Vidyāraṇya. He commanded his royal disciples, Harihara and Bukka, to give material shape to the idea. They obeyed his command. Harihara entrusted to his brother the task of constructing the city. Accepting the orders of his *guru*, and his sovereign, Bukka erected the new city. The testimony of tradition and inscriptions is not only not contradictory but complementary. Vidyāraṇya supplied the idea; Harihara gave the necessary sanction; and Bukka carried it into execution. The city of Vidyānagara was thus built by all the three, Vidyāraṇya, Harihara and Bukka.

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* *E. C.* v, Cn. 256. † *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF VIJAYANAGARA KINGS.

In spite of the efforts of several well-known scholars, the chronology of the kings of Vijayanagara still remains unsettled. Although attempts have been made from time to time to correct the genealogical tables of different dynasties that ruled at Vijayanagara in the light of fresh material, the succession of kings as fixed by Robert Sewell forty-five years ago is still accepted as correct. Occasionally the existence of a new Rāya bearing all the imperial titles is revealed by the inscriptions; but no systematic attempt has yet been made to fix the place of the new Rāyas in the order of succession. Much information of considerable historical value lies embedded in the *Kālajñāna* literature which has not been availed of by the students of the Vijayanagara history.

The word *kālajñāna* literally means the knowledge of time; it may be a shortened form of *trikālajñāna*, an insight into the past, present and future; in any case, it has come to denote a book recording future events, and usually attributed to some great sage or religious teacher, believed to be endowed with a prophetic vision of the future. Therefore, the *Kālajñānas* are books of revelation, and they naturally contain a good deal of legendary material which is utterly worthless for historical purposes. Only those passages of the *Kālajñānas* which purport to record as prophesies the events of the past are of interest to the historian, and these too have to be accepted after verifying their trustworthy character. Relevant passages from three *Kālajñānas* attributed to Vidyāraṇya (14), Śivayya (15) and Vīrappayya (16) have been included in the present volume. They have been supplemented by extracts from *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam*, the *Vijayanagara Sāmrājyamu* and the *kavile* of Gōrakallu.

Of the three *Kālajñānas* mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, the *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* is the earliest, although it appears to have been revised twice or thrice, when much legendary material was incorporated into it. In its earliest form the work must have been short, probably containing some fifty *ślōkas*. It seems to have contained a brief account of the circumstances under which the kingdom of Vijayanagara was founded, the names of the kings of the first dynasty, the duration of their rule and the manner of their downfall. The account of the *Kālajñāna*, so far as it deals with the history of the first dynasty, is borne out by the evidence of the inscriptions and other trustworthy documents. The *Vīrappayya Kālajñana* is the latest. Although it gives a complete list of the kings of all the four dynasties, its accuracy is not above doubt, especially with reference to the first dynasty. This may be attributed to the author's imperfect knowledge of the early history. He based his account of the first dynasty on the *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna*, and in his attempt to restore the names of the kings which are represented in that work only by the initial letters, the author introduced wrong names. The regnal periods which he assigns to the kings of this dynasty as well as the total duration of their rule cannot accepted as correct, as they are opposed to the evidence of the inscriptions. However, he gives an accurate account of the other dynasties of which his knowledge appears to have been more perfect. The *Kālajñāna* attributed to Śivayya is brief; and it describes the order of succession correctly from the beginning up to the accession of Śrīranga I. The substitution of the name of Narasa for Immaḍi Narasimha appears to be intentional*

The *Vijayanagara Sāmrājyamu* (19-a) is a *kaḍita* register which is said to have been prepared by the officers of the *aṭṭhavaṇam* at the instance of Venkaṭa II (1585 to 1614). It is

* Several works of this class such as the *Rāja Kālajñāna* and *Emmeya Basavana Kālajñāna* purport to describe the history of the kings of Vijayanagara. As they are more legendary than historical, no extract from them is included in the present work.

very accurate and trustworthy. The account which commences with the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya comes to an end with the reign of Venkaṭa II who ordered its compilation. The *Vijayanagara Sāmrājyamu* not only gives the length of each reign like the *Vīrappayya Kālajñāna*, but mentions the dates of accession and death of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. The dates are correct, and the accuracy of the account is borne out by the evidence of the trustworthy records. The *kavile* of Gōrakallu (18-a) enumerates the names of kings who ruled over the eastern part of the Kurnool district, and on the whole, it indicates correctly the succession of dynasties that controlled the destinies of this region. The *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam* (17) is the least trustworthy record, from the point of view of the Vijayanagara chronology. Though the author states that he derived his information from the *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñana*, his account is confused and faulty.

According to Nuniz, ten kings of the first dynasty ruled at Vijayanagara. Sewell accepts this number in his *Forgotten Empire*, though he includes fourteen names besides the nameless king whom he places between Dēvarāya II and Mallikārjuna in his 'Table for Reference',* thereby indicating that he kept an open mind on the question. Krishna Sastri conforms to the lists of Nuniz and Sewell, though he shows an inclination to modify it in certain respects. The *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna*, however, definitely states that thirteen kings of the first dynasty sat upon the throne of Vijayanagara and that their names commenced with the letters, Ha, Bu, Ha, Vi, Bu, De, Ra, Vi, De, Vi, Ma, Ra, and Vi respectively. The *Kālajñāna* of Śivayya and the *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam* accept the mnemonic verse of *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* giving the initial letters of the names of the kings. The *Vīrappayya Kālajñāna* not only gives the names of the kings completely but specifies their regnal periods also. These lists, especially the one that is given in the *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna*, conform closely to the list of kings derived from the inscriptions by modern research. Therefore, a comparative study of all the available data may be helpful in arriving at more satisfactory results.

* *Forgotten Empire*, App. C.

Nuniz.			Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna.			Śivayya Kālajñāna.		Vīrappayya Kālajñāna.			Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam.			Inscriptions.		
No.	Name of the king.	Years of rule.	No.	Name.	Years.	No.	Name.	No.	Name.	Years.	No.	Name.	Full name as given in the foot note to page 17	No.	Name.	Years.
1	Dehorāo ...	7	1	Ha		1	Ha	1	Harihararāya I.	(7+7) =14	1	Ha	Harihararāya I ...	1	Harihararāya I ...	19
2	Bucarāo ...	37	2	Bu		2	Bu	2	Bukkarāya ...	29·8	2	Bu	Bukkarāya I ...	2	Bukkarāya I ...	22
3	Pureoyre Dēvarāo	?	3	Ha		3	Ha	3	Harihararāya II.	22	3	Ha	Harihararāya II ...	3	Harihararāya II ...	27
4	Ajarāo ...	43	4	Vi		4	Vi	4	Vijaya Bukka-rāya	17	4	Vi	Virūpākṣarāya I...	4	Virūpākṣarāya I...	1(?)
5	Visarāo ...	6	5	Bu		5	Bu	5	Palle Buṭṭarāya.	21	5	Bu	Bukkarāya II ...	5	Bukkarāya II ...	1(?)
6	Dēvarāo ...	25	6	De		6	De	6	Rājaśēkhara-raya	0·6	6	De	Dēvarāya I ...	6	Dēvarāya I ...	16
7	Pinarāo ...	12	7	Ra				7	Vijayarāya ...	0·10	7	Ra	Rāmarāya I ...	7	Rāmacandrarāya	?
8	?	?	8	Vi				8	Prauḍha Dēva-rāya	21	8	Vi	Virūpākṣarāya II.	8	Vijayarāya I ...	?
9	Virūpācarāo ...	?	9	De				9	Vīrarāya ...	4	9	De	Dēvarāya II ...	9	Dēvarāya II ...	24
10	Padearāo ...	?	10	Vi				10	Mallikārjuna-rāya	6	10	Vi.	Viṭhalarāya ...	10	Vijayarāya II ...	?
			11	Ma				11	Rāmacandra-rāya	1	11	Ma	Mallikārjunarāya.	11	Mallikārjunarāya.	19(?)
			12	Ra				12	Virūpākṣaraya.	2	12	Ra	Rāmarāya II ...	12	Rājaśēkhararāya.	?
			13	Vi				13	?		13	Vi	Virūpākṣarāya III.	13	Virūpākṣarāya II.	21
	Total duration of the rule of the 1st dynasty.	130+?			150					(?) 155			232			150

All the *Kālajñānas* and the *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam* are unanimous in stating that the number of kings of the first dynasty is thirteen. The *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* refers to another king whose name is not mentioned. The *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam* also alludes to the rule of a Prauḍha who succeeded the last Virūpākṣa. Nuniz mentions only nine kings, if we exclude Padearāo who was expelled by Sāḷuva Narasimha. Sewell adheres, as mentioned already, to this number, although there is clear evidence to show that more than eight kings of the first dynasty ruled at Vijayanagara. "The succession to the throne of Vijayanagara immediately after Harihara's (II) death seems to have been disputed." * Harihara II died on Monday, September 15, 1404 A.D.† An inscription of October 5, 1404 mentions that Bukka II was the sovereign of the whole kingdom, and was sitting on the throne of Vijayanagara‡; but two inscriptions dated October 27 and November 29 respectively of the same year state that Harihara's son Virūpākṣa who bears full imperial titles was ruling the kingdom.§ And a number of inscriptions dated 1405 and 1406 show that during these years Bukk II was ruling as the king. The epigraphical evidence cited above indicates that after Harihara II's demise there was a dispute among his sons regarding the succession to the throne. Bukka II who was recognised as the heir-apparent by his father declared himself king; but his brother Virūpākṣa questioned his right, and seized the throne which he seems to have held for a few months. In the words of Sewell, "Virūpākṣa did enjoy a short reign," but "was ejected by Bukka II" soon after.¶ Bukka II died some time after August 1406 A.D. and his brother Dēvarāya I ascended the throne on November 5 of the same year.$

It is evident from the foregoing that after the death of Harihara II his three sons Virūpākṣa I, Bukka II, and Dēvarāya I *i.e.*, kings Vi. I, Bu II and De I of *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna*

* *A.S.R.* 1907-8, p. 245.
† *E.C.* viii, Tl. 129.
‡ *Ibid*, Tl. 1.
§ *E.C.* viii, Tl. 13; 196.
¶ *H. I.*, p. 208.
$ *E.I.* xv, p. 14.

succeeded one another. This order of succession is also supported by the list furnished in the foot note to the *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam*. The *Vīrappayya Kālajñāna* substitutes wrong names, and therefore its evidence cannot be accepted.

The successors of Dēvarāya I:—The reign of Dēvarāya I lasted until the middle of 1422 A.D. It is generally believed that he was succeeded by his son Vijaya, who took his own son Dēvarāya II into partnership in the administration of the kingdom. The *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* however, introduces Ra I after De I. The *Vīrappayya Kālajñāna* restores the name as Rājaśēkhara and assigns to him a short reign of six months. The foot note in the *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam* has Rāmarāya in its place. The latter appears to be nearer the truth. According to a copper plate grant of 1390 A.D., Dēvarāya I had a son called Rāmacandrarāya who was ruling at Udayagiri in the Nellore district.* He was governing the same place until 1416 A.D.† A few years later, he was holding sway over the territory corresponding to the present Guntur district. The epigraphist believes that Rāmacandrarāya was deputed to rule over the frontier province of Koṇḍavīḍu.‡ Dēvarāya I appears to have died some time before August 3, 1422 A.D.§ The event must have taken place before April of the same year, as Rāmacandrarāya was ruling as sovereign at Vijayanagara on April 22, 1422 A.D.¶ It appears from these inscriptions that Rāmacandrarāya ascended the throne after the death of his father; but an inscription at Bārakūru dated Ś. 1343 Śārvari$ introduces a complication. It states that "Vīra Pratāpa Dēvarāya (II) began to reign from the 'summer month' (*bēsigeya tingaḷu*) of Śaka-Samvat 1343". H. Krishna Sastri understands the *bēsigeya tingaḷu* to mean 'the lunar month of Caitra, which commences the summer season.' He observes: "There is no reason to suspect the accuracy of this date, and I accept it as

* *N. D. I.* i, Cp. No. 1. † *Ibid* ii, Kn. 4.

‡ 125 of 1917; *A.R.E.* 1917, Part, II, para. 43. The date of this inscription is wrongly given.

§ *E.C.* ix, An. 79. ¶ 317 of 1931-32. $ 160 of 1901.

the date of the accession of Dēvarāya II"*. Therefore, in the opinion of Krishna Sastri, Dēvarāya II began to rule in Ś. 1343, Śārvari, Caitra (March–April 1420 A.D.), that is, nearly two years prior to the death of his grandfather. It follows from this that Rāmacandrarāya and Dēvarāya II were both ruling at Vijayanagara jointly as sovereigns from April 1322 A.D. The epigraphist presumes "that Rāmacandra Oḍeya, the son of Dēvarāya I, and Dēvarāya II were joint rulers in the beginning of the latter's reign."† This is not all. Vijaya Mahārāya, the son of Dēvarāya I, and the father of Dēvarāya II, is said to have been ruling at Vijayanagara at the same time‡. It is obvious from the foregoing evidence (1) that Dēvarāya II, the son of Vijayarāya and the grandson of Dēvarāya I commenced to rule in March-April 1420 A.D.; (2) that Dēvarāya I was alive and ruling until March 1422 A.D.; and (3) that Rāmcandrarāya and Vijayarāya, the sons of Dēvarāya I, were ruling at Vijayanagara in April and August of 1422 A.D. respectively. Though these conclusions are based upon what appears to be indubitable epigraphical evidence, it is not possible to accept some of them especially the first, without further examination. The date 1420 A.D. seems, however, too early for Dēvarāya II. One would like to have some corroboration of the evidence of the Bārakūru epigraph. It may be remembered here that, according to Nuniz, Visarāo (Vijayarāya), 'inherited the kingdom' after the death of his father Ajarāo (Dēvarāya I); and that he ruled for six years.§ This is confirmed by the Kallūru grant of Dēvarāya II, in which it is stated that Dēvarāya II obtained the kingdom from his father, Vijaya.¶ Therefore, it may be tentatively concluded that Rāmacandrarāya was the immediate successor of Dēvarāya I and that on the former's death after a short rule, Vijayarāya ascended the throne in July or August of 1422.A.D.

* *A.S.R.* 1907-8, p. 247.

† *M.E.R.* Part II, 1931-32, para. 35, p. 63.

‡ *E.C* ix, An. 79.

§ *Forgetten Empire*, p. 302.

¶ (*Unpublished*). *Śrī Tuṅgabhadrā parikhē nagarē Vijayāhvayē*
Pitrā simhāsanam prāpya pālayann-avanīm-imām
Praṇata (*Nata*) *Śākāgraṇīḥ Prauḍha Dēvarāya mahīpatiḥ.*

Although Nuniz asserts that Vijayarāya, ruled for six years, he appears to have been a shadowy monarch. Inscriptions show that his son Dēvarāya II was also ruling from A.D 1423,* a fact which led some scholars to think that both the father and son were joint rulers for some time.† Sewell, however, is of opinion that Vijaya, whom he styles Bukkarāya III, ruled singly; and that he died in 1423 A.D. "after a very short reign of a few months. He was succeeded by his son Dēvarāya II."‡ But a few inscriptions of Vijaya bearing a later date, which Sewell attempts to explain away, clearly show that his position is not tenable. An inscription of Tiruppūndurutti dated Ś. 1346 Krōdhi (A.D. 1424-5) records that Vijayarāya Mahāraya granted some land to God Caṇḍēśvara.§ Therefore, it is obvious that Vijaya ruled until A.D. 1424—5 and probably longer. If the duration of six years assigned to his reign by Nuniz be accepted as true, his reign must have lasted until 1428 A. D. As Dēvarāya II was also ruling at Vijayanagara at the same time, the conclusion that Vijaya and Dēvarāya jointly held sway over the kingdom cannot be avoided.

The successors of Dēvarāya II.—The long and prosperous reign of Dēvarāya II came to an end in 1446 A.D. An inscription at Śravaṇa Baḷagoḷa records the date of his death. "In the evil year Kṣaya, in the wretched second month Vaiśākha, on a miserable Tuesday in the dark fortnight, on the fourteenth day (May 10, 1446 A.D.), the abode of valour, the matchless Dēvarāṭ, alas! met with his death.'¶ Sewell asserts that 'the accession of his son Mallikārjuna by his wife Ponnaladēvī therefore took place on that day.'$ However, there is reason to believe that between Dēvarāya II and Mallikārjuna there ruled another king for a short time. The *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* mentions a Vi. II after De. II, and it has been restored as Vīrarāya in the *Vīrappayya Kālajñāna* and as Viṭhalarāya in the foot note to *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam.* Both

* *E.C.* viii, Sb. 565.
† *A.S.R.* 1907-8, p. 248.
‡ *H. I.*, p. 214.
§ *V.R.* ii, Tan. 1460-A.
¶ *E.C.* ii, 328 (125); *H. I.*, p. 220.
$ *Ibid*, p. 220.

these restorations are wrong as shown by the inscriptions. Some inscriptions dated 1446–47 A.D. record the administrative reforms of a king called Vijayarāya.* They puzzled the epigraphists a good deal; but with the discovery of new records of the monarch they are gradually coming into the belief that Vijaya was perhaps a separate monarch 'who might have ruled for a short time between Dēvarāya II and Mallikārjuna'.† Though Vijaya II appears to have been exercising some sort of authority over Koṇḍavīdu as early as A. D. 1441‡ nothing is known of his antecedents. It is not known whether he was connected with the royal family or how he came to ascend the throne. His reign appears to have been very brief, as there is no mention of his name in the records of the subsequent years. Vijaya II was succeeded by Mallikārjuna, who appears to have ascended the throne some time before May 1, 1447 A. D.§ His reign lasted for 19 years. Though the date of his death is nowhere recorded, it is not unlikely that he breathed his last in A. D. 1465, as none of his inscriptions bearing a later date has been so far discovered. Mallikārjuna left behind him a son called Rājaśēkhara. The Ra II who, according to the *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna*, succeeded Ma may be identified with this prince. A few inscriptions registering grants to temples during his reign¶, show that the statement of the *Kālajñāna* is based upon truth. It is believed that Rājaśēkhara was a mere child at the time of his father's accession; and consequently Virūpākṣa II is said to have been elevated to the throne.$

The rule of Virūpākṣa II lasted until 1485 A.D. for nearly twenty years, when he was murdered by his eldest son. The parricide did not, however, ascend the throne; but he persuaded his younger brother Padearão to allow himself to be crowned. This Padearão has been identified with Prauḍhadēvarāya who is mentioned in a few inscriptions of the time‖. The

* 476 of 1921; 23 of 1905; 161 of 1906.
† *A. R. E.* 1922, Part ii, para. 46.
‡ 420 of 1915.
§ 435 of 1922.
¶ 4 of 1896.
$ *H. I.*, p. 225.
‖ 593 of 1902.

Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam also mentions a Prauḍha, who succeeded Virūpākṣa. It assigns to him a reign of twelve years a fact which is not capable of verification. Whatever be the length of his reign, there can be no doubt about his expulsion from the kingdom. Nuniz states that one of the captains of the king, Narsyamgua rebelled against him and marched at the head of his army towards the capital seizing the territories belonging to the king. He despatched one of his officers to capture the capital. The officer proceeded to Vijayanagara, and as the king fled from the city, he occupied it, and proclaimed his master the king of the country*. The *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* also refers to this incident. 'The last (king) of the line, much troubled by the enemies will take to flight to another country after crossing the river, and will doubtless meet with his death there—such being the inevitable course of fate' (14). It is evident from this that with the reign of Padearāo, the Sangama dynasty came to an end, and very little is known of the members of this line in the history of the subsequent period.

The *Vidyāraṇyā Kālajñāna* states that the kings of the first or the Sangama dynasty ruled for one hundred and fifty years, whereas the *Vīrappayya Kālajñāna* gives 155, and the *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam* 232 years as the period of their rule. It is known from the inscriptions that the kingdom of Vijayanagara was founded in 1336 A.D. and that Sāḷuva Narasimha seized the throne from Prauḍhadēvarāya in 1486 A.D. Therefore the rule of the Sangama dynasty lasted for exactly one hundred and fifty years. It is thus seen that the inscriptions corroborate the evidence of *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* in almost all particulars.

The Sāḷuva and the Tuḷuva kings:—The information about the chronology of the Sāḷuvas is not very precise. Only two kings of this dynasty, *viz.*, Sāḷuva Narasimha and his son Immaḍi Narasimha sat upon the throne of Vijayanagara. The *Kālajñāna* attributted to Śivayya (15) states that 'Narasimha, the lion

* *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 306-7.

among kings' ruled first, and he was succeeded by 'his servant, Narasa'. It does not mention Immaḍi Narasimha. The *Vīrappayya Kālajñāna* supplements this meagre account. It describes the Sāḷuva chronology thus: "Then came the rule of the Kṣatriyas who asserted their independence. The years of Sāḷuva Narasingarāya's rule are three (3); the years during which Narasā Nāyaka ruled in the name of the son of Narasimharāya are thirteen.* Though the length of Sāḷuva Narasimha's reign is not correctly stated, the other facts mentioned in the *Kālajñāna* are trustworthy. They are corroborated by the evidence of the inscriptions and other material.

The *Kālajñāna* and other records furnish much useful and interesting information about the succession and the duration of the rule of the Tuḷuva monarchs. The first king of the dynasty was Vīra Narasimha. The *Vīrappayya Kālajñāna* asserts that Vīra Narasimharāya, the (eldest) son of Narasā Nāyaka, having caused the death of Tammarāya(*i.e.*, Immaḍi Narasimha), ruled for five years (16). Nuniz, however, attributes the assassination of Immaḍi Narasimha to Narasā Nāyaka.† This has been questioned by several writers, especially by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, who believes that 'Vīra Narasimha, son of Narasa, set him (Immaḍi Narasimha) aside completely and even got rid of him in the manner described by Nuniz.'‡ Vīrappayya's statement lends support to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar's contention; but the problem is very complicated; and no definite conclusion can be arrived at without a thorough and searching examination of the available data. Nuniz assigns a period of six years rule to Vīra Narasimha§, but as stated already, Vīrappayya allots him only a rule of five years (16). Whatever be the length of his reign, it came to an end in Ś. 1431 (1509 A.D.), when he was succeeded by his brother Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.

The exact date of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's coronation is not given in any of his inscriptions. His earliest inscription

* Another ms. wrongly gives the figure as 31.

† *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 311-14.

‡ *A Little Known Chapter*, p. 71.

§ *Forgotten Empire*, p. 314.

so far discovered is dated July 26, 1509 A.D.* The last known inscription of his predecessor, Vīra Narasimha is dated May 4, A.D. 1509.† The *Vīrappayya Kālajñāna* asserts that Kṛṣṇarāya's reign commenced in the month of Vaiśākha of the year Śukla (May, 1509 A.D.). As Vaiśākha came to an end on the 18th May, it may be presumed that Vīra Narasimha died between 4th and 18th of May of that year, and that Kṛṣṇarāya succeeded him at once. The *Vijayanagara Sāmrājyamu* states that his coronation was celebrated on the day of Śrījayanti in the month of Āvaṇi of Śukla, Ś. 1432, (Wednesday 8 August, 1509 A.D.) As Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was considered to be an *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa,‡ it is not unlikely that his coronation was most appropriately celebrated on the anniversary of the birthday of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. It is obvious that the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya commenced in the middle of 1509 A.D. He is said to have reigned until the month of Kārttikai in the year Virōdhi (November, 1529 A.D.) for a period of 21 years.§ He was succeeded by his brother Acyutadēvarāya. The *Vīrappayya Kālajñāna* (16) and the *Vijayanagara Sāmrājyamu* (19-a) give accurate information about the chronology of the remaining kings of the Tuḷuva dynasty. The following table shows their close agreement:

Name of the king.	Details about the regnal years, etc.	
	Vijayanagara-sāmrājyamu.	*Vīrappayya Kālajñāna.*
Acyutadēvarāya. Venkaṭapatirāya I.	12 years	12 years beginning with (the year) Vikṛti.
Salakarāju Timma who caused the assassination of Acyuta's son.	8 months	8 months from Śubhakṛt, Āśvīja.
Sadāśiva (Rāmarāja).	22 years	22 years from Jyēṣṭha, Śōbhakṛt.
The years of anarchy following Rāmarāja's war with the *Pañca-Pāduśāhus.*	5 years	5 years.

* 703 of 1919. The Śaka year 1430 does not coincide with the cyclic year Śukla, the epigraphist has corrected it as 1431. *A.R.E.* 1920, App. F, p. 87.

† 342 of 1892; *H. I.*, p. 236. ‡ *Sources*, pp. 139-40.

§ This is confirmed by *Vīrappayya Kālajñāna* and other works. The *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam* gives him a reign of forty years which is certainly wrong. It is now definitely

It is thus seen that there is very close agreement between these two records, except in one particular. The *Vijayanagara Sāmrājyamu* does not mention Venkaṭa I and allots a period of 8 months to Salakarāju Timma; but the *Vīrappayya Kālajñana* refers indirectly to Venkaṭa's rule and his assassination by Salakarāju Timma who is said to have ruled for eight months. The information supplied by Vīrappayya enables us to find the month and the year in which each reign commenced. Thus Acyutarāya's reign began in Vikṛti (Caitra, Ś. 1452 = April A.D. 1530). Salakarāju Timma's rule began in Āśvīja, Śubhakṛt [(Ś. 1464) = Sept.-Oct. A.D. 1542]. Sadāśiva's rule began in Jyēṣṭha of Śōbhakṛt (Ś. 1465 = May A.D. 1543.) It follows from this that:

Acyuta ruled from April A.D. 1530 to Aug. A.D. 1542,— 12 years 4 months.

Salakarāju Tirumala rued from Oct. A.D. 1542 to April A.D. 1543, — 8 months.

Sadāśiva from May A.D. 1543 to (? A.D. 1565), - 22 years *

The Āravīḍu kings:—No serious difficulty is met with in the chronology of the Āravīḍu kings. The *Vijayanagara Sāmrājyamu* stops in the middle of the reign of Venkaṭa II; but the *Vīrappayya Kālajñāna* takes us to the end of Rāmadēvarāya's reign. No definite information is furnished by our records

known that he began his reign in May, 1509 A.D. He completed the 20th year of his reign in May, A.D. 1529. As he died in November, A.D. 1529, his reign lasted for another six months. He reigned for 20 years and 6 months or in round numbers 21 years

* The last date of Sadāśiva's reign under the regency of Rāmarāj is taken from the *Rāmarājana bakhair.* According to this work the *mahaldar* from Bijāpūr came to the court of Rāmarāja on Vaiśākha ba 8. Raktākṣi, Śaka 1486, (27 May, A.D. 1564). This was the beginning of the trouble. The war between the Five Sultāns and Rāmarāja is said to have lasted for six or seven months. Thus the last days of the reign of Sadāśiva (more correctly of the regency of Rāmarāja) fell into the early months of A.D. 1565. As a matter of fact Ferishta places the great battle on 23 Jan. A.D., 1565.

about the chronology of his successors. The contents of these works are reproduced in the schedule below :—

The name of the king.	Details about the regnal years, etc.	
	Vijayanagara-Sāmrājyamu.	*Vīrappayya Kālajñāna.*
Tirumalarāya (having crowned himself at Penugoṇḍa) ruled. ...	1 year	11 months.
Śrīrangarāya	14 years	14 years. His reign began on Vaiśākha ba 15, Āngīrasa (Ś. 1494).
Vīra Venkaṭapatirāya II ...	His coronation was celebrated in Pārthiva (Ś. 1507); he was on the throne in Ś. 1526 (ex) Parābhava (current) 1606 A.D. (?)	28 years 7 months 15 days. His reign began on Māgha ba 11, Pārthiva (Ś. 1507).
Cikkadēvarāya ...	...	4 months
Rāmarāya ...	...	15 years 5 months 15 days.
Confusion ...	...	1 year.
The invasion of Turukas ...	...	Bahudhānya (Ś. 1560) = 1638 A.D.

This table gives interesting details regarding the regnal periods and the dates of accession of the Āravīḍu kings. There is some slight difference between the *Sāmrājyamu* and the *Kālajñāna* about the length of Tirumala's reign. The former states that he ruled for one year, whereas the latter reduces his reign to eleven months. The actual length of the reign was probably eleven months, and the author of the *Sāmrājyamu* rounded it to one year. According to the *Kālajñāna*, Śrīranga I commenced to rule on Vaiśākha ba 15, Angirasa (Ś. 1494) *i.e.* May 11, A.D. 1572. Therefore Tirumala's coronation must have been celebrated in June, 1571 A.D.

Tirumala,	June 1571 to May 1572.
Śrīranga I,	May 11, 1572 to Feb. 1586 A.D.
Venkaṭa II,	Feb. 4, 1586 to (?) Sept. 27, 1614 A.D.
Cikkarāya,	Sept. 27, 1614 to Jan. 25, 1615 A.D.
Rāmadēvarāya,	Jan. 25, 1615 to July 9, 1630 A.D.
Confusion..........	July 1630 to July 1631 (?)
The Turuka invasion,	1638–39 A.D.

These dates agree very closely with those supplied by the inscriptions and the Portuguese records.

CHAPTER VII

HARIHARA I.

Harihara I and the Mussalmans:—Within a dozen years of the foundation of Vijayanagara, a new Mussalman kingdom was established in the Deccan with Gulburga as its capital, by 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasān Gangu Bahmanī.* It was only natural that these two kingdoms, established to foster two opposing faiths, should come into conflict with each other sooner or later. As a matter of fact, Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn took the earliest opportunity to despatch an army against Harihara's dominions. There was a rebellion in 1347 A.D. at Sāgar which was in the neighbourhood of Harihara's northern frontier; the Sulṭān marched thither to put down the rebels. On this occasion he sent Mubārak Khān, one of his officers, with an army to raid Harihara's territory. The officer marched to Raichore, and laid siege to the fort, the commandant of which 'tendered his submission, and gave horses and wealth (to the invader)' (22). Hariap whom the Sulṭān's army attacked has been correctly identified with Hariappa (Harihara I) of Vijayanagara.† This is the first clash between the two kingdoms. As the Sulṭān's army had to retire from Raichore, it may be surmised that their progress into the interior of the Vijayanagara kingdom was obstructed by some obstacle. As a matter of fact, it is stated in an inscription of A.D. 1356‡ that Harihara I defeated 'the Sulṭān, who resembled *Sutrāman* (Indra)'. Therefore, it is not unlikely that the first Bahmanī attack upon the Vijayangara kingdom was repulsed.

Another interesting problem calls for consideration in this connection. 'Iṣāmy (23) and following him Sayyid 'Alī refer to a

* Haig questions the propriety of the use of the name Gangu; (*C.H.I.* iii, pp. 372–73); but 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasan is referred to as Kangu which is the same as Gangu by Barnī Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, Yāḥya bin Aḥmad and other early historians. The explanation of Maulvi 'Abdul Wālī that it is a corruption Kāikaus is hardly satisfactory, though it has found favour with Haig. Whether one is prepared to accept Ferishta's explanation or not the name Gangu certainly betrays its Hindu origin.

† Sewell: *F.E.* p. 7.

‡ *E.I.* iii, p. 32.

chief called Khaipras who was holding the fort of Kimba (Kemba)* which was situated between Sāgar and Mandhōl. His fort was at first besieged by Ṣafdār Khān, who was, however, murdered by his mutinous soldiers before the fort could be captured. Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn laid siege to it for the second time on his way from Sāgar to Mandhōl, but Khaipras submitted and agreed to pay him an annual tribute (23). Khaipras has been identified with Bukkarāju, one of Harihara I's younger brothers.† This identification does not rest upon secure foundations. Bukka was governing at this time, the Hoysala country which he had recently subdued. It is highly improbable that he should have been the chief of a small fort outside the boundary of Vijayanagara kingdom. Moreover, 'Alā-ud-Dīn could not have found the subjugation of Kemba an easy task, had Bukka I, who had the resources of the Hoysala country under his control, been really its chief. Therefore, the identification of Khaipras with Bukka I must not be taken as established until evidence of a more reliable character is brought forward to support it.

Administrative measures:—According to Nuniz, Dehorão (Harihara I) did nothing but 'pacify the kingdom' during his reign; he is said to have left the kingdom 'in complete tranquillity.'‡ Harihara seems to have taken considerable interest in organizing the internal administration of his dominions. Two measures of administrative reform are associated with his name: (1) He introduced a new scheme of territorial sub-divisions probably to ensure efficiency of administration. He is said to have grouped four or five hamlets into a village, twenty or thirty villages into a *sthala*, in the territory bounded by Siddhavaṭam in the east, Maddikara in the west, Drōṇācalam

* The name of the fort is spelt in two different ways by 'Iṣāmy: Kimbā کنبا or Kimbah کنبه Sayyid 'Alī refers to it in one place Kumbā and in another Kumbāri [*Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*: (Hyderabad edition) pp. 19, 21]. In King's translation (*I.A.* xxviii, p. 146) it is spelt Kanbārī.

† S. K. Iyengar: *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 181.

‡ *F. E.* p. 300.

in the north and Penugoṇḍa in the south. He placed each village under a *karṇam*, and *sthala* under a (*sthala*)-*karṇam*, and appointed *nāḍu-gauḍas* and *nāḍu-talaiyārs* over the *nāḍus* for enforcing law and order (24g). (2) Harihara was also responsible for introducing another important measure. He bestowed the office of the *karṇam* in all the villages under his rule upon Brahmans (24a-d). The reform was introduced at the instance of his minister Cikka Voḍeya who is said to have represented to the king that the gift of the *karaṇīka-mirāśi* to Brahmans on the holy occasion of Śivarātri was an act productive of much religious merit. Having consented to the proposal of the minister, the king made the gift to Brahmans of the Nandavaidika sect of which the minister himself was a member, on the occasion of the holy Śivarātri in Ś.S. 1258.* Whatever be the motive behind this measure, it must have caused much injustice, as it resulted in the displacement of people of other communities specially the goldsmiths and the Velamas who held the office at the time. The idea of Brahmanization of the *karaṇīka* service did not originate with Cikka Voḍeya. Tradition preserved in the *kaviles* of several villages in the Telugu country ascribes it to a certain Gōparāju Rāmapradhāni, the minister of Gajapati Gaṇapati who is said to have ruled the east coast in the 12th century.† If there is any truth in this tradition, Cikka Voḍeya must be regarded as a person who completed the work of Rāmapradhāni.

Harihara, like his great successor Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, believed that the extent of the kingdom was the most important source for the acquisition of wealth. Therefore, he strove hard to extend the cultivable area of his kingdom, by cutting down forests which covered large tracts of country which are at present known as the Ceded Districts. He granted *kauls* to people to cut down forests, make them habitable by building

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* The date of this gift is variously given. The gift is said to have been made in one record on Ś.S. 1255 Īśvara Mārgaśira śu 6, Kapila(Skanda?) Ṣaṣṭi in another on Ś S. 1259 Īśvara, Māgha ba 30; and in a third on Ś.S. 1275 Māgha ba 30, Śivarātri.

† *Koṇḍavīṭi Daṇḍakavile* quoted in the *Koṇḍavīṭi Sāmrājyamu* by M. Gurubrahma Śarma, p. 29.

villages, and to bring the land under cultivation. The ryots who settled in these new villages were allowed to cultivate the land on easy terms. The persons who took initiative in building these new villages were granted certain privileges as a reward for the trouble they had taken, and the money they had invested. Provision was also made for carrying on the administration of these forest colonies by the appointment of the *āyagārs*, who were given hereditary allotments of land as remuneration for their services.

CHAPTER VIII

BUKKA I.

During the early years of the reign of Harihara I, Bukka was governing the western districts of the Telugu country. The fort of Gutti (Gooty in the Anantapur district) is said to have been 'the nave of the wheel of the sovereignty over the whole earth' under his control.* Though Bukka, like his other brothers, was a subordinate of Harihara I, he did not confine his activities to the administration of the territory directly under his jurisdiction. He took great interest in the affairs of the whole kingdom, and rendered much assistance to Harihara not only in defending it against external enemies but in increasing its resources by placing the internal administration on a sound basis. The part played by Bukka in the affairs of the state is forcibly described in a gift-deed dated Ś.S. 1259 Īśvara, Māgha ba 30. It states that 'the prosperous *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Bukkarāya' was 'the prop of the throne' of Hariharadēva Mahārāya. (24-d). It was probably for this reason that Harihara I chose Bukka at first as *yuvarāja*,† and later as a partner in the government of the kingdom. ‡

Though Harihara I's rule lasted, as shown by the evidence of the inscriptions, until 1354–55 A.D., several records of Bukka make it clear that he was ruling at Vijayanagara as king even before the death of his brother. In fact, tradition preserved in the *Kālajñānas* and the *Daṇḍa-kaviles*, confirms the testimony of the inscriptions. The *Vīrappaya Kālajñāna* (16) states that Bukka I ruled for twenty-nine years and eight months; and the *Kaifiyat* of Malamīdi-Kambāladinne (25) is roughly in agreement with this. According to this document, Bukka I ruled for twenty-eight years from Ś.S. 1273 Khara to Ś.S. 1301 Kāḷayukti (1351-52 A.D. to 1379 A.D.).§ It is

* *S.I.I.* i, p. 167. † *E.C.* v, Cn. 256. ‡ *Ibid.* ix, Bg. 59.

§ The dates given in the *kaifiyat* agree with the cyclic years, and they yield also the period of 28 years, assigned in it to the reign of Bukka I; but this conflicts with the evidence of the inscriptions according to which Bukka I appears to have died in the beginning of 1377 A.D.

evident from this that reigns of Harihara I and Bukka I overlap. The explanation for this overlapping must be found in the joint rule of the two brothers.

Bukka I and the Mussalmans:—The chronicle of the *Pāḷaigārs* of Naḍimidoḍḍipāḷem states that Bukka I fought with the Mussalmans in Ś.S. 1286 (1364-65 A.D.) and defeated them in a battle (28). Mesā Timmā Nāyaḍu of Kummetta, having gathered his levies at the command of the Rāya, joined the expedition. He distinguished himself in the field by putting several Muhammadan chiefs to the sword. The enemy was routed and the Rāya returned victoriously to Vijayanagara.

Both Ferishta and Sayyid 'Alī allude to this war. According to the former, the kings of Vijayanagara and Warangal having joined together in an alliance, demanded that Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī I should restore to them some territories which his late father 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Gangu had wrested from them. With the object of gaining time, Muḥammad Shāh prevaricated for a while, and at the end he sent a defiant reply. Thereupon, the Rāja of Warangal, invaded Kaulas, and his ally, the Rāya of Vijayanagara sent a large force, to co-operate wiṭh him. The Hindus were, of course, defeated, and the king of Warangal was compelled to pay a large sum of money.*

Sayyid 'Alī attributes the genesis of this war to the land hunger of the Bahmanī Sulṭān. "Being desirous of conquering countries and cities," says he, "he (Muḥammad Shāh) conceived the idea of conquering the country of Vijayanagar, and accordingly marched towards that place with a large and well-equipped force." The Rāya came to defend his territory at the head of a large army; but was, no doubt, defeated after much fighting by the Muhammadans. His country was plundered, the temples were levelled to the ground and much booty fell into the hands of the victors. The Sulṭān then

* Briggs: *Ferishta* ii, p. 301.

marched away to Fīlampatan in Telingāṇa which he soon captured.*

This is the account of the war given by the Muhammadan historians. The chronicle of the Naḍimidoḍdipāḷem chiefs, gives the Hindu version of the events. It claims the victory for the Hindu side. Though the truth about the war cannot be discovered under the circumstances, it may be pointed out, keeping in view the well-known Muhammadan habit of ignoring the success of the infidels against the faithful, that the accounts of the Muslim historians are, indeed, exaggerated.

* *I.A.* xxviii, p. 180.

garrison, and having entered the fort by means of a stratagem, he slew Nāga and took possession of it with its dependent territory. Thence he marched upon Warangal and forced Anapōta to sue for peace. The war came to an end in A.D. 1365 and Anapōta had to cede a part of his territory including the fort of Gōlkoṇḍa and agree to pay an annual tribute as the price of peace. Muḥammad Shāh promised, in return, immunity from attack and help in the event of an invasion of his dominion by other enemies. Thereupon, the Mussalman army retired from Telingāṇa leaving the Velamas free to govern the country.

The formation of the alliance between the Velamas and the Sulṭān of Gulburga, and the frequent aggressions of the former on the Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu made the north-eastern frontier of Vijayanagara insecure; and it was imperative that an attempt should be made to ensure the safety of the kingdom. It was probably to further this object that the administration of the district was placed in the capable hands of Dēvarāya. As soon as he took charge of his office he seems to have come to the conclusion that so long as the Reḍḍi kingdom was allowed to remain it was not possible to strengthen the frontier. He strove, therefore, to remove this obstacle from his path. Moreover, the alliance of the Velamas with the Sulṭān was fraught with danger, and it was necessary to break this alliance as quickly as possible. To achieve this end, an expedition was despatched to Telingāṇa under the command of the *yuvarāja*, Immaḍi Bukka, and he was accompanied by Sāḷuva Rāmadēva, and the Nāyakācārya Kampaṇa.* Though Anapōta I is said to have confounded the Karṇāṭaka army (31), he was not able to prevent it from penetrating into the heart of Telingāṇa. A serious engagement took place in the neighbourhood of Warangal. When the Vijayanagara forces reached Kottakoṇḍa, the Turukas came and attacked the place. Sāḷuva Rāmadēva fell. This does not seem to have produced any effect upon the progress

* *E.C.* xii, Cn. 15.

of the invasion. According to the *Vaidyarājavallabham* (34-a) which gives a glowing description of this campaign, Bukka II routed his enemies, both Hindus and Mussalmans, and returned triumphantly to the capital. The results of this campaign are not quite apparent. The Velamas remained still defiant, and their friendship with the Bahmaṇī Sulṭān was not broken.

A second expedition appears to have been launched against Telingāṇa about A. D. 1390. The *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* alludes to an invasion of a Vijayanagara army under the command of Daṇḍanātha Guṇḍa whom Peda Vēdagiri, a son of Māda and a nephew of Anapōta I is said to have defeated (32). At the command of his father, Dēvarāya marched with the six-fold army to Alampura on the Tungabhadrā some time before A. D. 1390.* No information is available about the circumstances under which this order was given or the events that followed this march. It may be surmised that Dēvarāya was asked to move with his armies to Alampura either to lead an attack upon the Bahmanī kingdom or to ward off an invasion of the Bahmanī Sulṭān. The anarchy and confusion that prevailed in the Bahmanī kingdom at this time makes an invasion from that side highly improbable. It may therefore be assumed that Harihara II despatched an army under Dēvarāya to invade the territories of the Sulṭān. Nothing is known about what happened afterwards. The siege of the fort of Pānugallu in 1397 A. D. by Immaḍi Bukka is probably connected with this campaign (33). Irugapadaṇḍanātha assisted him in conducting the operations, and Pānugallu which was defended by stone ramparts and many Turuṣka warriors was captured. The subjugation of Pānugallu was an important achievement. It served as a basis of operations during the later campaigns in Telingāṇa.

During these years, the kingdom of Vijayanagara, expanded considerably. In the north-west, Goa, Kharēpaṭan, Chaul and Dabul were wrested from the successors of Mujāhid

* *N. D. I.* i, Cp. 1.

the Kṛṣṇā became the northern frontier of the kingdom; and the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu were deprived of their possessions in the Kurnool and Nellore districts; and even in Guntur they were pushed out of the Bapatla and Narasaraopet taluks. Thus Harihara II became the undisputed monarch of the whole of South India to the south of the Kṛṣṇā.

The period of anarchy that followed the assassination of Mujāhid in the Bahmanī kingdom came to an end with the accession of Fīrōz Shāh in A. D. 1397. The new Sulṭān was young and energetic, and he wanted to restore the fortunes of his family, which declined considerably during the reigns of his predecessors. He led an expedition against Vijayanagara with the object of conquering that kingdom in 1399 A. D., and having defeated the Rāya in battle he marched upon his capital and exacted, according to the Mussalman historians, a large war indemnity and a promise to pay an annual tribute of thirty-three lakhs of *tankas*.*

A great famine devastated the country at the time of this war. Its severity was such that people abandoned their homes and migrated to places which escaped the visitation (29). This famine appears to have affected the whole of the Deccan. Ferishta states that a famine occurred during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī I who succeeded Dāūd Shāh. The Sulṭān is said to have employed ten thousand bullocks at his private expense and imported corn from Mālwa and Gujarāt which he sold to the people at a cheap rate.† Grant Duff briefly describes this famine in his *History of the Mahrattas*. "In 1396", says he, "the dreadful famine, distinguished from all others by the name of *Doorga Dewee*, commenced in Maharashtra. It lasted, according to the Hindu legends, for 12 years.........Whole districts were entirely depopulated, and a very scanty revenue was obtained from the territory between the Godavari and Kistna for upwards 30 of years afterwards."‡

* Briggs: *Ferishta* ii, pp. 370 f; *I.A.* xxviii, p. 186.

† Briggs: *Ferishta* ii, p. 349.

‡ *The History of the Mahrattas* i, p. 44.

Notwithstanding the occurrence of famines such as these; the country, judging from the standards of the age, appears to have been fairly prosperous. The scattered ryots returned to their ruined homesteads with the fall of rains, and by their patient toil made the sun-scorched fields smile once again.

Harihara II seems to have fallen ill during the last years of his reign. His sons, each of whom had designs upon the throne, left their provincial headquarters and returned to the capital. Some light is thrown on the events which immediately preceded his death by the local histories. "While Pedarāya Voḍeya (Harihara II) was ruling at Vijayanagara, his son, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Prauḍha Voḍeya (Dēvarāya I) was governing the province of Udayagiri. Owing to the illness of his father, Prauḍha Vōḍeya was obliged to pay a visit to Vijayanagara" (39, 40). This happened some time before Ś. S. 1329.

Harihara II died of this illness in August, A.D. 1404; and his death was the signal for the outbreak of civil war. Virūpākṣa I seized the throne at first and held it for a short time. He was however ousted by Bukka II who ruled the kingdom for about two years. The throne at last passed into the hands of Dēvarāya who is said to have been crowned at Vijayanagara on Ś.S. 1328 Vyaya, Kārtika ba 10 Friday.*

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* *E. C.* v, Hn. 133.

CHAPTER X.

DĒVARĀYA I.

The reign of Dēvarāya I began in the midst of a foreign invasion. The peace of the kingdom was very much disturbed during the interval between the death of Harihara II and the accession of Dēvarāya I. Taking advantage of the unsettled state of affairs, the enemies in the neighbouring states invaded the kingdom.

The Bahmanī Sulṭān, Fīrōz Shāh, invaded the Vijayanagara kingdom in A.D. 1406. Ferishta gives a sensational account of this invasion. The Sulṭān is said to have attacked Dēvarāya I to save the chastity of a goldsmith's daughter, defeated him in every engagement, ravaged his country, and having driven him within the seven walls of .his capital, compelled him to purchase peace by bestowing the hand of his daughter on the Sulṭān.* Sayyid 'Alī gives a more sober description of the events. According to him the Sulṭān, having conceived the idea of waging religious war, came with a large army, and 'conquered several districts of Bhanūr and Musalkal.' He 'appropriated the fixed sum of thirty-three lakhs' and 'returned to his capital.'†

The Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu made a simultaneous attack upon the Udayagiri-*rājya*. Mallā Reḍḍi, a descendant of Perumāḷa Reḍḍi, and a cousin of Anavēma Reḍḍi (Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma), the king of Koṇḍavīḍu, led an army into Vijayanagara territory and occupied two districts of Udayagiri-*rājya*, *viz.*, Pottapi-*nāḍu* and Pulugula-*nāḍu*. There he remained until A. D. 1413, when he was expelled by an army which Dēvarāya I sent to Udayagiri (39 to 43).

The causes of the Reḍḍi invasion.—The Reḍḍi invasion was not prompted by motives of aggression. The kings of Vijayanagara had been encroaching upon the Reḍḍi territory for

* Briggs: *Ferishta* ii, pp. 378 f. † *I. A.* xxviii, p. 187.

a long time. Prōlaya Vēma's authority extended, during the early days of his rule, over Ahōbalam in the Kurnool district, but this territory soon passed into the hands of Harihara I. Moreover, it is stated that Vēma asserted his independence at Vinukoṇḍa; but this district appears to have formed part of the Vijayanagara kingdom during the reign of Bukka I (27).* The hostility between Koṇḍavīḍu and Vijayanagara did not assume an active form until the accession of Harihara II. Dēvarāya who was appointed as the Governor of Udayagiri about 1378 A. D. showed an inclination to pounce upon the Reḍḍi dominions at a favourable moment. There must have been a war between the two kingdoms about 1384 A. D. The territory extending from the Śrīśailam to Tripurāntakam passed from the hands of the Reḍḍis to those of the Rāya between 1382 and 1385 A. D.; the district of Addanki, the original capital of the Reḍḍis, together with the coastal strip up to Mōṭupalli appears to have fallen into the hands of the Rāya about the same time.† The death of Anavēma, coupled with the accession of his incompetent nephew to the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu, must have greatly contributed to the success of Vijayanagara armies. A peace was probably concluded about 1385 A.D.; for Kāṭaya Vēma, the brother-in-law of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi and the real ruler of the kingdom was busy fighting along the Kaḷinga frontier from 1385 to 1391 A.D. It was probably about this time that the marriage of Harihara's daughter, was celebrated with Kāṭaprabhu, the son of Kāṭaya Vēma.‡ As a consequence of this marriage, the hostile relations between the two kingdoms temporarily ceased, and the southern and western frontiers of Koṇḍavīḍu remained unmolested. This state of affairs, however, did not last long.

There appears to have been some strife at Koṇḍavīḍu during the last years of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi's reign, over the question of succession. His son Vīra Annapōta seems to have

* *V. R.* ii, Kl. 56, 58. The date of the inscriptions has been wrongly given as Ś. 1274; the correct date of the record is Ś. 1294 (1372-73 A.D.).

† *The Reḍḍis and the Rāyas*: *Trivēṇi* vi, pp. 273. f.

‡ *E. I.* xiii, p. 253.

predeceased him. Therefore, Kumāragiri divided his kingdom into two halves, and assigned the northern half with Rājahmandry as its capital to his brother-in-law and minister, Kāṭaya Vēma, and the southern half with Koṇḍavīḍu as its capital to his cousin, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. This division of the kingdom did not satisfy either of the assignees. Kumāragiri Reḍḍi died in 1403 A.D., and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma seized the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu at once, and Kāṭaya Vēma took possession of the Kṛṣṇā-Gōdāvarī delta.

The death of Kumāragiri seems to have coincided with the departure of Dēvāraya to Vijayanagara, on hearing of the illness of his father. The outbreak of civil dissensions at Vijayanagara subsequent to the death of Harihara II and the continued absence of Dēvarāya from Udayagiri gave a splendid opportunity to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma to recover the territory lost during the reign of his predecessor. Mallā Reḍḍi, a cousin of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, as noticed already, led the invasion, and occupied a large portion of the Udayagiri-*rājya*, where he remained until his expulsion in 1413 A.D.

Was the Reḍḍi invasion an isolated affair? Or, did it form the part of a larger movement in which all the enemies of Vijayanagara participated? There is reason to believe that the Bahmanī and the Reḍḍi invasions of the Vijayanagara territory were inter-connected. In the first place, the time of the occurrence of the Bahmanī and the Reḍḍi invasions coincided; both of them took place in A.D. 1406. Secondly, a few years later, about 1416 A. D., an alliance between Fīrōz Shāh and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma is known to have been in existence.* Therefore, it is not unlikely that these two monarchs, entered into an alliance against their common foe, the Rāya of Vijayanagara as early as 1406 A. D.

Whatever might have been the inter-relation of these two invasions, Dēvarāya I withstood their impact, and had so far

* *Veḷugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, 108.

recovered from their effects that he became ready to take the offensive once again.

The affairs of the kingdom of Rājahmandry, which Kāṭaya Vēma received from Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, claimed his attention first. On the death of Kumāragiri, Vēma retired to Rājahmandry, and devoted his energies to strengthening his position. He attempted to consolidate his territories by eliminating a number of local chiefs who held semi-autonomous position under his predecessors. This naturally involved him in a conflict with Annadēva, a scion of the Ēṟuva branch of the Telugu Cōḻa family, who, with the help of the Velamas of Rācakoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa, seized the region between the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā and the Gōdāvarī during the short period of confusion which followed the death of Kumāragiri. He showed no inclination to submit; on the contrary, he began to develop schemes for ousting Kāṭaya Vēma from his place. He knew that Kāṭaya Vēma had powerful enemies, from whom he could expect much help. Therefore, he seems to have approached the Velamas and arrived at an understanding with him. He invited Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī to invade the Telugu country and promised to assist him in the enterprise. The Sulṭān who was anxious to extend his territory eastwards accepted the invitation, and moved towards the Telugu country with his army (46).

Kāṭaya Vēma who was aware of the danger threatening his position appears to have turned for help in this crisis to his ally and relation Dēvarāya I. He paid a visit to Ahōbalam in the interior of the Vijayanagara kingdom in 1410 A.D. accompanied by his family.* Though the motive for this visit is not known, it is not unreasonable to surmise that he would have met Dēvarāya or his representative on this occasion and discussed with him the inter-state relations. The fact that Dēvarāya's armies fought with Kāṭaya Vēma's enemies on the banks of the Gōdāvarī in the succeeding years surely points to the existence of some sort of an understanding between them.

* 84 of 1915.

War broke out between the two opposing factions in 1415 A. D. Dēvarāya despatched his troops promptly to assist his ally. The intervention of the Vijayanagara army appears to have drawn Annadēva's friends into the field. Fīrōz Shāh moved eastwards ostensibly to help his ally, but really to subjugate Telingāṇa and bring it under his control. There is reason to believe that Kāṭaya Vēma opposed the advance of the enemy, and lost his life in the battle. Gajarāvu Tippa, a chief of Koppunūḷḷa sub-division of the Velama community, claims to have defeated Kāṭaya Vēma's army at Guṇḍukolanu, a village in the Ellore taluk of the West Godavari district. The *biruda, Kāṭaya-Vēmuni-tala-goṇḍa-gaṇḍa* occurring in the family *praśāsti* of the Koppunūḷḷa chiefs points to Vēma's death at the hands of Gajarāvu Tippa or some other member of the family probably at Guṇḍukolanu itself. The Rājahmandry Museum plates of Annadēva Cōḍa, which describe the events of this war, refer to three victories won by him over the Karṇāṭakas. He is said to have won a victory at Attili (in Taṇuku taluk) over the southern rulers, one of whom must have been the king of Vijayanagara. On another occasion, 'fighting on the side of the Turuṣka king', he is said to have 'destroyed the Karṇāṭa forces.' Again, he is said to have massacred the Kannaḍas and others with the assistance of his friend Pinayuṇḍirāja, at Kānkaraparti on the banks of the Gōdāvarī, to protect his ally. The ally for whose protection, he butchered the Kannaḍas, was probably the Sulṭān himself (46). It appears from this that Dēvarāya I suffered a series of disasters at the hands of the Sulṭān and his allies in the Telugu country. The Sulṭān's power increased and he seems to have been recognised as the overlord of Telingāṇa. These events have been alluded to by Sayyid 'Alī. "The Sulṭān", says he, "being determined to conquer Telingāṇa proceeded in that direction, till having got near Rājāmundrī, he conquered many forts and districts of that country and having taken possession of the whole of that territory, he consigned it to agents of government, and then

set out for his capital."* This is corroborated, to some extent at least, by the evidence of inscriptions. According to an epigraph at Vēdādri, in the Nandigāma taluk of the Kistna district dated Ś. S. 1339 Hēviḷambi, Śrāvaṇa śu 5, Thursday (18 July A.D., 1417), two officers of Fīrōz Shāh, Masnada Yēli Abību Nidāmalu-Maluka and his elder brother, Śarakhumalu Jainadi-Voḍeya were ruling at Voḍapalli-Vajīrābādu and Śrīrangarājakoṇḍa respectively 'on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā in the Eastern Country."†

The success of Fīrōz Shāh and his allies was not, however, permanent. Their good fortune deserted them soon. While Fīrōz Shāh was engaged in pushing forward towards Rājahmandry, Dēvarāya I seized the important fort of Nalgoṇḍa-Pāngal in the neighbourhood of Rācakoṇḍa, the principal capital of Fīrōz Shāh's Velama allies, and cut off the line of his communications. He was therefore obliged to suspend operations in the Gōdāvarī delta and hasten to Nalgoṇḍa-Pāngal with the object of recapturing the fort in A.D. 1417. Though he met with stubborn resistance from Dēvarāya I, he won a severely contested battle and laid siege to the fort. The siege lasted two years; the garrison held out bravely; and Fīrōz Shāh was no nearer capturing it than he was at the beginning. Meanwhile, Dēvarāya I gathered a fresh army, and having secured the help of the Telugu chiefs, marched against the Sulṭān. Help came to him also from another quarter unexpectedly. The Velamas who had been the allies of the Bahmanī Sulṭān deserted him and joined the Rāya. With the death of Kāpaya Nāyaka in 1365 A. D. they became the neighbours of the Sulṭān, and though they were his allies they obstructed the expansion of his dominion eastwards. It did not serve his interests any longer to adhere to the former alliance. Therefore, he began to develop friendship with Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma between whom and the Velamas there existed a family feud. Vēma welcomed the alliance because it gave him a chance not only to protect his kingdom from the attacks of the Rāya of

* *I. A.* xxviii, p. 187. † 306, 307 of 1924.

Vijayanagara, but to avenge the death of his brother, Māca, whom the Velamas had put to death in a battle. The Velamas under the circumstances lost their only friend; and as it was imperative to have the support of some one powerful enough to help them in preserving the integrity of their kingdom, they befriended their old enemy, the Rāya of Vijayanagara. A great battle was fought under the walls of Nalgoṇḍa-Pāngal in which the Sulṭān suffered a crushing defeat. He fled in panic, and his troops were massacred.* This happened in 1419 A. D.

In the meantime, the affairs of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Rājahmandry brightened. Allāḍa, the general of Kāṭaya Vēma upheld the cause of his late master's son, Kumāragiri bravely. He defeated Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma at Rāmēśvaram, plundered his camp and put him to flight; he next turned towards Annadēva Cōḍa and his son Vīrabhadra, defeated them in battle and probably put them to death. The young Kumāragiri having died in the interval, Allāḍa claimed the kingdom for Anitalli, the sister of Kumāragiri and having celebrated her marriage with his second son, Vīrabhadra, he began to rule the kingdom on her behalf.†

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma who was repulsed from the dominions of the Reḍḍis of Rājahmandry was not allowed to rule his kingdom in peace, the Velamas used the occasion to avenge the death of Peda Vēdagiri, one of their chiefs, whom Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma had formerly slain with the help of Fīrōz Shāh. Now that the Sulṭān was crushed, they invaded the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom fearlessly. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was not in a position to expel them. He was without friends. His ally, the Sulṭān was defeated by his enemies and driven away, and there was no chance of getting help from that quarter. The Cōḍa chief, Annadēva, who had caused a revolution in the affairs of the kingdom of Rājahmandry was crushed by Allāḍa. Dēvarāya I appears to have taken advantage of Vēma's troubles, and annexed a part of his territory. In the midst of these difficulties, Peda

* *I. A.* xxviii, p. 188; Briggs: *Ferishta* ii, p. 390.

† *J. O. R.* viii, p. 157.

Kōmaṭi Vēma met the Velamas in battle, and was defeated and slain.*

Dēvarāya I and Ahōbala Cōḍa.—There appears to have been some trouble in the western part of the Udayagiri-*rājya* during the last years of the reign of Dēvarāya I. A Telugu Cōḍa chief called Ahōbala of the Apratimalla family holding sway over the country in the neighbourhood of Puṣpagiri seems to have rebelled. An inscription of this chief dated Ś.S. 1342 Plava, Vaiśākha ba. 15, Thursday (May 1, A.D., 1421) is found in the village of Gōṭūru near Puṣpagiri. It is said that Prauḍhadēvarāya (Dēvarāya I) and his son Vijaya, marched against him at the head of a large army, and defeated him in battle. As a consequence of this war, the capital of Ahōbala Cōḍa was ruined, and several merchants who were residents therein migrated to foreign lands (44).

Very little is known of the activities of Vijaya. Nuniz says that he 'did nothing worth relating'†. The *kaifiyats* show, however, that Nuniz does him very little justice. They represent him as an energetic prince, who actively participated in his father's wars against the Cōḍa chiefs. One record, as a matter of fact, gives him the entire credit of suppressing their rebellion (45).

Dēvarāya I passed away in the middle of A.D. 1422 after a rule of 16 years; and he was succeeded by his son Rāmacandra who seems to have sat on the throne for a few months.

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* *Trivēṇi* vi, pp. 286-7 ; *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, Intro. pp. 23-8; *E.I.* xxvi, pp. 32-7.
† *Forgotten Empire*, p. 302.

CHAPTER XI.

VIJAYA I AND DĒVARĀYA II.

The length of Vijayarāya's reign is variously estimated by our authorities. Nuniz states that he ruled for six years, Vīrappaya assigns to him a reign of ten years, and the *Kaifiyat* of Malamīdi-Kambāladinne allots only five years to his reign (47). According to the inscriptions he appears to have ruled for three or four years. He is said to have ascended the throne in the middle of 1422 A.D.,* and he died in 1425-6. Even during this short period, he was not the sole sovereign; his son Dēvarāya II, was ruling jointly with him. The circumstances under which both the father and the son happened to rule jointly are not known. Their joint rule did not, however, last long; and Dēvarāya II became the sole monarch of the kingdom, after his father's demise in A. D. 1425-26.

The affairs of Koṇḍavīḍu.—Dēvarāya II was obliged to pay attention to the affairs of Koṇḍavīḍu soon after his accession. The death of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma proved disastrous in its consequences to the Reḍḍi kingdom. Rāca Vēma, his son, and successor was an incompetent and oppressive ruler. He was murdered by one of his own subjects after a rule of three or four years. After his death, the Koṇḍavīḍu branch of the Reḍḍi kingdom was dissolved, and its territory became the battle-ground of the ambitious monarchs of the neighbouring states.

Considerable obscurity hangs over the history of Koṇḍavīḍu immediately after the downfall of the Reḍḍis. It cannot be definitely ascertained who ruled their territory between 1424 and 1428 A. D. The *kaifiyats* of several villages in the Guntur district allude to the occupation of the country by an Uriya monarch called Lāngūla Gajapati who is said to have

* Sewell: *H. I.*, p. 213.

ruled it for a period ranging from 12 to 25 years (50, 51). This is not supported by other evidence. No king of the name of Lāngūla Gajapati ruled over Orissa during the fourteenth century; nor is there any trace of his invasion in the Southern Telugu country. A stray verse ascribed to the poet, Śrīnātha, describes the political condition of Koṇḍavīḍu after the fall of the Reḍḍis briefly: "The chiefs that rule at present over Koṇḍavīḍu," declares the poet, "are as numerous as the sluices carrying off a river's water, the snake-holes on this earth, the hair growing on the body of a bear, and the trees of the jungle offering shelter to a bird in flight."* Of the chiefs who attempted to seize the patrimony of the Reḍḍis, the names of only two have survived. Panṭa Mailāra Reḍḍi and Sāḷuva Telungarāya—both of them patrons of Śrīnātha—appear to have aimed at carving out independent principalities in the southern marches of the old Reḍḍi kingdom. The former was the son of Mummaḍi Reḍḍi, and he was holding portions of the Ongole and the Narasaraopet taluks of the Guntur district as an independent prince in 1424-5 A.D.† The latter was the son of Sāḷuva Samburāya‡ and he ruled over a part of Podili in the Nellore district, and portions of the Ongole and the Bapatla taluks of the Guntur district in A. D. 1428§; but these chiefs were not allowed to remain undisturbed in the possession of their estates. Dēvarāya II seems to have made an attempt to subjugate them about 1427 A.D.; and they were forced to acknowledge his supremacy. Panṭa Mailāra,¶ the Reḍḍis of Cuṇḍi$ and Avubhū Cōḍa‖ had all submitted. Though no indication of Telungarāya's subordination to Dēvarāya II is seen in his inscriptions, it is highly improbable that he could have remained independent, ruling as he did so near Panṭa Mailāra, Avubhū Cōḍa and others. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to conclude that by 1428–29 A.D. Dēvarāya II completed the subjugation of the border chiefs, and proceeded against

* Prabhākara Sastri: *The Śṛngāra Śrīnātham*, p. 136.

† *N. D. I.* iii, O. 104.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 26.

§ 476 of 1915.

¶ *E. I.* xiii, p. 2; *N. D. I.* i, Cp. 18.

$ *N. D. I.* ii, Kr. 16.

‖ *Ibid* ii, O. 56.

Koṇḍavīḍu which seems to have fallen into his hands some time before A.D. 1432.* It is evident from this that the Vijayanagara conquest of the Reḍḍi dominions was finished by this date and that Dēvarāya II succeeded in pushing forward the north-eastern frontier of his kingdom up to the Kṛṣṇā.

A brief but interesting passage in the Vēmavaram plates of Allaya Vēma dated A.D. 1434 alludes to an attack of the Karṇāṭaka king upon the Gajapati. The passage which enumerates the achievements of Allāḍa states that he made friendship between the Gajapati and the king of Karṇāṭa who came (to fight in his country).† When did Allāḍa exercise his good offices to conciliate the two monarchs? Nothing is known of Allāḍa before 1415 A. D.; nor did any king of Vijayanagara enter the Rājahmandry territory up to that time. Dēvarāya I, however, despatched an army in A.D. 1415, as noticed already to help his ally, Kāṭaya Vēma, in his fight against his enemies. It is not unlikely that he himself might have come to the front to direct the operations; but it must be pointed out that Dēvarāya's presence in the Rājahmandry kingdom on this occasion was not due to his desire to wage war on the Gajapati but to help Kāṭaya Vēma. Moreover, the Gajapati did not come into the Rājahmandry territory about this time. At any rate, there is no evidence of his having done so. Allāḍa also must have been far too much engrossed in the fight with the enemies of his master to offer his services in settling the disputes of others; and his position in A. D. 1415 could not have commanded sufficient influence to enable him to pose as an arbitrator in deciding international quarrels. Therefore, Allāḍa must have conciliated the Karṇāṭa and the Gajapati kings later, when his position as the ruler of Rājahmandry was firmly established. As Dēvarāya I was engaged in a fierce

* *L. R.* 42, p. 325.

† *E. I.* xiii, p. 241.

Jitvā-nalpa-vikalpa-kalpita-balam tam c=Ālpakhānam raṇe
Mitrīkṛtya samāgatam Gajapatim Karṇāṭa-bhūpam ca tam
hatvā Kōmaṭi-Vēma-sainya-nikaram bhūyō=pi Rāmeśvarī
prājyaṃ Rājamahēndra-rājyam=akarōd=Allāḍa-bhūmīśvaraḥ.

struggle with Fīrōz Shāh from 1417 to 1419 A.D., it is highly improbable that he should have embarked upon a distant expedition during the last years of his reign. Therefore, the arrival of the Gajapati and the Karṇāṭa king, and the effecting of conciliation between them must have taken place subsequent to the death of Dēvarāya I, *i. e.*, during the reign of his grandson Dēvarāya II. A solitary inscription of the Sāḷuva chief, Telungarāya dated A. D. 1428 found at Simhācalam,* the northernmost frontier station of the Rājahmandry kingdom gives the time of Dēvarāya II's invasion. Though the inscription gives no information about Dēvarāya or his connection with Telungarāya, it is likely that the latter was a subject of the king of Karṇāṭaka at that time. It describes him as 'Telungarāya, the son of Samburāya (a resident) in the Kannaḍa-*dēśa*.' The Vijayanagara dominions were generally referred to at this time as Karṇāṭa or the Kannaḍa-*dēśa*. Therefore, an inhabitant of Kannaḍa-*dēśa* must necessarily have been a subject of the king of Karṇāṭa. Now, the presence of an inscription of a subject of the Karṇāṭa king at Simhācalam at this time calls for an explanation. It has been rightly assumed that Telungarāya was a subordinate of Dēvarāya II and that he accompanied his master to this part of the country during the course of a military expedition.† The justness of this assumption is proved by the passage of Vēmavaram grant under consideration. It is evident from what has been said above that the arrival of the Karṇāṭaka king into the Rājahmandry kingdom referred to in the Vēmavaram grant took place in A. D. 1428. The Karṇāṭakas appear to have reached the southern frontier of the kingdom of Orissa, when the Gajapati came to oppose the invader. It must have been at this point that Allāḍa stepped in and by skilful diplomacy brought about the cessation of hostilities between the belligerents as mentioned in the Vēmavaram grant.

* 293 of 1899.

† Virabhadra Rao: *The History of the Āndhras* iii, pp. 390-91; V. Prabhakara Sastri: *The Śṛngāra Śrīnātham*, pp. 154-55.

The circumstances under which Dēvarāya II marched up to the frontier of Orissa are not known. The term '*mitrīkṛtya*' employed in the passage of the Vēmavaram grant, implies that the Gajapati and the king of the Karṇāṭakas, *i.e.*, Dēvarāya II were not originally well disposed towards each other. Dēvarāya II seems to have led an invasion into the dominions of the king of Orissa for some reason unknown to us at present. Did he invade Orissa actuated by motives of self aggrandisement? or, did he go there chasing the subordinates of the Gajapati whom he found in occupation of the Koṇḍavīḍu territory as the *kaifiyats* would have us believe? The evidence is not sufficient to make an assertion either way. Future investigation alone can reveal the truth.

Dēvarāya II and the Velamas.—The Velamas played an important part in the history of Vijayanagara at first as enemies and later as friends and faithful supporters of the Rāyas. The reign of Dēvarāya II was a transition stage in the relations of the Velamas with the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. They were forced by circumstances to change their attitude towards their old enemy. The steady advance of power of the Bahmanī Sulṭān into Telingāṇa impressed on their minds the supreme necessity of befriending the Rāya, and securing his support in repelling the aggressions of the Sulṭān. Nevertheless, the old spirit of hostility persisted for a while, and if the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* is to be believed, the northern districts of the Vijayanagara empire were convulsed by the depredatory Velama expeditions during the latter part of Dēvarāya II's reign.

The Velama dominions were under the government of two branches of the Rēcerla fāmily at this time. The two sons of Rāvu Singa I, Anapōta I and Māda I, divided their patrimony between themselves. Anapōta I and his descendants ruled from Rācakōṇḍa the northern half of the state; the forts of Warangal and Bhuvanagiri with the dependent territories were under their jurisdiction. Māda and his descendants

ruled the southern half with Dēvarakoṇḍa as their capital. As the chiefs of Rācakoṇḍa held sway over the territory in the neighbourhood of the Bahmanī kingdom they came into conflict with the Mussalmans more frequently; and, as a consequence, their power declined sooner than that of their cousins of Dēvarakoṇḍa.

The information pertaining to the struggle between the Velamas and the Bahmanis is drawn almost entirely from the histories of Ferishta and Sayyid 'Alī, and they are by no means in agreement with each other. According to Ferishta, Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī invaded Telingāṇa in A. D. 1425, in order to punish the king of that country for having joined the Rāya of Vijayanagara in a war, against him in 1423 A. D. The king of Telingāṇa was slain and Warangal was captured. Khān-i-A'ażam subdued the rest of Telingāṇa. Having left Khān-i-A'ażam at Warangal with instructions to capture some forts that were still in the possession of the heirs of the late king, the Sulṭān returned to Gulburga. Khān-i-A'ażam seems to have successfully performed the task entrusted to him; for in 1428 A. D. Sulṭān Aḥmad conferred regal insignia upon Dāūd Khān, one of his sons, and sent him with the nobility to establish himself in Telingāṇa.* On the accession of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn II in 1435 A. D., his brother Muḥammad Khān revolted; but his rebellion was suppressed. The Sulṭān, however, pardoned him, and bestowed on him the fortress and revenue of Rāichūr, which became vacant by the death of his brother, prince Dāūd, the governor of Telingāṇa†. It is obvious from the account of Ferishta that Warangal and Telingāṇa fell into the hands of the Bahmanī Sulṭān in A.D. 1425 and that the Hindu power disappeared at the same time.

The account of Sayyid 'Alī is slightly different. Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī invaded Telingāṇa in 1424 or 1425 A. D., with the object of subjugating the country. He captured the forts of Warangal and Mandal. The Rājas of Rājkoṇḍa and Dēvarkoṇḍa submitted and agreed to pay tribute.‡ About

* Brigg's *Ferishta* ii, pp. 406, 412. † *Ibid*, p. 423. ‡ *I. A.* xxviii, p. 210.

1432 A.D., the Sulṭān invaded Telingāṇa for the second time, and captured the fort of Rāmgīr. The intelligent Hindu *wālī* of Warangal, having realised the futility of opposing the Sulṭān, sued for and obtained peace. The Sulṭān conferred Bhonāgīr as *jāgīr* upon Sanjār Khān. Towards the close of his reign, Aḥmad Shāh divided his kingdom among his sons, when he assigned Māhūr with its dependencies to Maḥmūd Khān, and Rāīchūr and Chūl to Dāūd Khān.* On the death of Aḥmad Shāh, his eldest son 'Alā-ud-Dīn II ascended the throne. Muḥammad Khān, his younger brother, who was placed by the late Sulṭān under his protection, rebelled against him; but the rebellion was quickly put down. The Sulṭān, however, forgave Muḥammad Khān, and granted to him on feudal tenure, the district of Rāyācal in Telingāṇa.†

Notwithstanding the differences between the narratives of Ferishta and Sayyid 'Alī which need not be taken into account in this context, they agree in stating that the Hindu Rāja of Telingāṇa lost his independence. It is not possible to state definitely whether the Rāja was killed or allowed to hold some sort of authority in the neighbourhood of Warangal. The testimony of the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* would seem to indicate that Anapōta II who was ruling at Rācakoṇḍa about this time was engaged in a war with the nobles of Vijayanagara even after the annexation of Koṇḍavīḍu by Dēvarāya II about A.D. 1428. In any case, it appears certain that between 1425 A.D. and 1435 A.D., most of Telingāṇa passed under Muslim rule. The senior branch of the Rēcerla family which was ruling at Warangal since A. D. 1365 was ousted from its place. Owing to the increasing pressure of the Mussalmans on their native district, several members of the family appear to have migrated to the neighbouring states, where they created much disturbance by attempting to carve out new principalities for themselves. Anapōta II established himself in the district of

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* *I. A.* xxviii, pp. 216–17. The names Rā'ichūr and Chūl seem to be corruptions due to scribal carelessness of Rāyācal, mentioned below.

† *Ibid*, p. 238.

Mēdak, and having allied himself with his cousin Linga I of Dēvarakoṇḍa, he appears to have disturbed the peace of the outlying districts of the Vijayanagara empire. He is said to have ravaged the district of Kōṭa as far as the fort of Pānugal, plundered the territory of Koṇḍavīḍu, and spread destruction in the Tamil country up to Cennapaṭṭaṇa.* He was opposed in Koṇḍavīḍu by Sambeṭa Sōma, and Sarepalli Timma whom Dēvarāya II placed in charge of the district. Anapōta II is said to have won a victory over them after a severe fight (55, 56). His campaigns and victories do not seem to have produced any substantial result, for Dēvarāya's hold upon these districts remained unshaken until the end of his reign.

The most noteworthy achievement of the Velamas of this age was their invasion of the kingdom of Rājahmandry. Both Anapōta II and his cousin Linga claim victories over the Reḍḍis. According to the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, our only source of information on this subject, the latter is said to have defeated Allaya Vēma and his brother Vīrabhadra, who saved their kingdom by submitting to his irresistible might. Though it is not possible to test the truth of these assertions at present, they must not be treated with undue suspicion, as there is nothing improbable in an invasion of this kind having taken place. It may be assumed, therefore, that the Velamas attacked the Reḍḍis of Rājahmandry and vanquished them in battle. The invasion must have taken place before 1437 A.D., after which no information is available either about the Reḍḍis or their kingdom.

Dēvarāya II and the kingdom of Rājahmandry.—The events of the last years of the Reḍḍi rule at Rājahmandry are enveloped in darkness. An examination of the Reḍḍi inscriptions shows that Allaya Vēma and presumbly his brother Vīrabhadra

* It may be noted here that Cennapaṭṭaṇa *i.e.*, Madras was not then in existence. The passage, in the *Velugōṭivari Vaṁṣavaḷi* on which the present account is based seems to be a later interpolation; but an inscription dated 1437 A. D. which records the gifts of Vasantarāya, son of Anapōta II to the shrine of Dēvarājasvāmi at Conjeevaram (634 of 1919) shows that the Velama raid did really reach the neighbourhood of Madras.

were ruling at Rājahmandry until 1437 A. D.* Nothing is known of them or of their descendants, if they had any, subsequent to this date. Was their authority overthrown? And if it was overthrown, by whom? We learn from an inscription of Drākṣārāmam that Mallappa Voḍeya, one of the *mahāpradhānas* of Dēvarāya II, was governing the city of Rājahmandry, and presumably the territory dependent on it in 1444 A.D.† Dēvarāya II's rule over the Kṛṣṇā-Gōdāvarī region about this time is also indicated by the copy of an old inscription preserved in the introductory portion of Śarabha Kavi's *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇam* (54).‡ How did the government of Rājahmandry pass from the Reḍḍis into the hands of Dēvarāya II? Did he overthrow the authority of the Reḍḍis and subjugate their kingdom? This is highly improbable. The contemporary writers bear testimony to the existence of continuous friendship between the Reḍḍis of Rājahmandry and the king of Vijayanagara§; and there is no evidence to show that it was ever broken. Therefore, it may be reasonably assumed that Dēvarāya II would not have overthrown the authority of the Reḍḍis ignoring the longstanding friendship that existed between them and his family. If Dēvarāya's officers did not go to Rājahmandry as conquerors, their presence in the city and its neighbourhood must be due to some other cause.

The *Gangādāsapratāpavilāsam*, a contemporary work, alludes to a defeat which the Gajapati sustained at the hands of Dēvarāya II. The author, Gangādhara, states that 'on the death of Pratāpadēvarāya, the Purandara of Vijayanagara,

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* 424 of 1893; 426 of 1893.

† 442 of 1893. The inscription is incomplete, as the face of the stone on which the concluding portion is inscribed has been built into a wall. (*S. I. I.* IV, p. 484, n. 2). But at the time when Col. Mackenzie's surveyors visited the place, the stone appears to have stood by itself, and the copy made at the time gives the interesting information that the grant recorded therein was made by the command of Allaya Vēma. If this were true, it would show clearly that Dēvarāya II sent Mallapa Daṇḍanāyaka to Rājahmandry to help the Reḍḍis.

‡ *Madras Govt. Or. Ms. Lib. Triennial Catalogue*: Telugu Vol. iii, Part iii, R. No. 313.

§ Śrīnātha: *Kaśīkhaṇḍam*, 2: 165; 3: 246.

Mallikārjunarāya ascended the throne. On hearing this, the Sulṭān of the Deccan and the Gajapati, both of whom *had been formerly defeated by Pratāpadēvarāya*, marched upon Vijayanagara with a large army consisting of elephants, horses, and foot soldiers.* It is evident from this passage that Dēvarāya II inflicted a defeat upon the Gajapati. Who was he? His identity is not difficult to discover. Since he is the same as the Gajapati who laid siege to Vijayanagara after Dēvarāya II's death in 1446 A. D., he must be identical with the Gajapati Kapilēśvara who reigned from 1434–35 to 1470 A. D. The time and the place of Dēvarāya's conflict with Kapilēśvara, however, are not known; they can easily be surmised with the help of the available data. As Kapilēśvara came to the throne in A. D. 1434-35, he could not have come into conflict with Dēvarāya II earlier; and as Dēvarāya died in 1446 A.D., Kapilēśvara could not have suffered defeat at his hands subsequent to that year. Therefore, the war between Dēvarāya II and Kapilēśvara must have taken place some time between 1434–35 and 1446 A.D. The approximate time of the war being thus fixed, an attempt must now be made to find out the locality, and the probable causes which gave rise to it. There is no evidence to show that Kapilēśvara led an invasion against Vijayanagara before 1448 A. D. Nor is there any indication of his rule over the Telugu country prior to 1452 A.D. Therefore, it is very unlikely that he could have come into conflict with Dēvarāya II either in the Vijayanagara territory or in the Telugu country beyond his frontiers. The authority of Dēvarāya II, as noticed already, extended in 1444 A.D. to Rājahmandry, if not actually to the southern frontier of the kingdom of Orissa. The conflict between Dēvarāya and Kapilēśvara in which the latter suffered defeat must have taken place in Kaḷinga where the rival ambitions of the Gajapatis and the Reḍḍis seem to have clashed with each other.

The Reḍḍis who strove from the beginning to establish their authority over Kaḷinga came into conflict with the

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* *Sources*, p. 66.

Gajapatis from time to time. Prōlaya Vēma and his sons claim victories over the Gajapatis but the peace of Kaḷinga remained, on the whole ,undisturbed until Rājahmandry became the seat of a separate kingdom under Kāṭaya Vēma after the death of Kumāragiri. With the object of increasing his territory, Kāṭaya Vēma, subjugated several chiefs who held sway over southern Kaḷinga. Allāḍa who succeeded him set the conquest of Kaḷinga as the goal of his political ambition. His sons followed in his footsteps. In pursuance of this ambition, Allaya Vēma conducted several campaigns against the petty principalities with which the whole of Kaḷinga was honeycombed at this time. As a result of these campaigns, the extent of the kingdom of Rājahmandry considerably increased. Its northern frontier gradually reached the Cilaka lake in the Ganjam district. When the conquest of the Kaḷinga was completed, at the instance of Allaya Vēma, his brother, Vīrabhadra assumed the title of *Kaḷingarājaparamēśvara.**

The extension of the Reḍḍi power was keenly resented by the Gajapatis. According to the *Gangavamśānucaritram,* a work probably of the early 18th century, Kajjalabhānudēva, the predecessor of Kapilēśvara invaded the northern districts of the Reḍḍi kingdom about 1433 A. D., and owing to the political upheaval in his capital, was obliged to remain there permanently.† As a consequence of this, the Reḍḍis appear to have lost much territory, which they acquired after a continuous warfare of a decade. Kapilēśvara who established himself at Cuttack was a strong and energetic king. We learn from *Burhān-ī-Ma'āṣir* that he was recognised as the leader of the Hindus of Telingāṇa as early as 1435 A. D.‡ It is not unreasonable to believe that a monarch who acquired the leadership of the Hindus of Telingāṇa could have avoided a conflict with the Reḍḍis of Rājahmandry. Probably Kapilēśvara made an attack upon Rājahmandry some time after 1437 A.D.,

* Śrīnātha: *The Kaśīkhaṇḍam,* 3: 247.

† *Kaḷingadaṇḍaka,* p. 334.

‡ *I. A.* xxviii, p. 237.

and the Reḍḍis must have naturally turned to their ally, Dēvarāya II, for help.

Dēvarāya II could not refuse to send succour to the Reḍḍis in the hour of need. In the first place, there existed a strong bond of friendship between them and his family. Moreover, Allaya Vēma, the *de facto* ruler of Rājahmandry, was related to him by marriage. Further, political considerations compelled him to preserve the integrity of the kingdom of Rājahmandry. On the death of Rāca Vēma, he annexed the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. Consequently, the river Kṛṣṇā became the north-eastern boundary of his kingdom. The Rājahmandry kingdom served as a useful buffer between his territory and the kingdom of Orissa which was rapidly growing in strength ever since the accession of Kapilēśvara. In these circumstances it would have been very unwise to refuse help to the Reḍḍis, and allow Kapilēśvara to establish himself in the Gōdāvarī delta. These considerations must have prompted Dēvarāya II to despatch an army under the command of Mallappa Voḍeya who seems to have defeated Kapilēśvara and put him to flight.

The victory of Dēvarāya II over Kapilēśvara gave but a temporary respite to the kingdom of Rājahmandry and the day of its destruction was not far off. The death of Dēvarāya II in A. D. 1446 deprived the Reḍḍis of the support of a powerful ally; and Mallikārjuna who succeeded Dēvarāya II on the throne of Vijayanagara was too weak to offer them any help. This gave Kapilēśvara a free hand to deal with the Reḍḍis as he deemed best; He invaded their kingdom once again some time before A.D. 1450, and annexed it to his dominions.

Dēvarāya's conquest of Kēraḷa :—Although the authority of the kings of Vijayanagara reached the shores of the Indian ocean as early as the reign of Harihara II, no attempt seems to have been made to subjugate Kēraḷa until Dēvarāya II ascended the throne. Dēvarāya was an energetic monarch, and he is said to have exacted tribute from 'the Cuallão,

Ceyllão, and Paleacate, and Peguu and Tanaçary, and many other countries.'* It is clear from this that besides other rulers, the king of Cuallão (Quilon) paid tribute to Dēvarāya II and recognised him as his suzerain. This is confirmed by an explicit statement in the *Kērala Palama* that Dēvarāya had conquered the kings of Kērala and other countries and exacted tribute from them (19-b). Nevertheless, one of the Kērala chiefs, the Sāmūri of Calicut, managed to retain his independence until the end of Dēvarāya's reign; but this independence did not amount to much, for the Sāmūri had such a fear of Dēvarāya that he dared not go against his wishes. "Although the Sāmūri is not under his authority," says Abdur Razaak, "nevertheless, he is in grant alarm and apprehension from him." Therefore when Dēvarāya II 'sent a herald with a letter addressed to the Sāmūri, desiring that the ambassador of His Majesty, the Khākān-i-Sa'īd should be instantly sent to him,'† he had no other alternative except obedience. It may be said, therefore, that Dēvarāya II was the supreme monarch of the whole of South India, and that his dominions extended in the language of Abdur Razaak 'from the borders of Sarandīp (Ceylon) to those of Kulburga, and from Bengal (Orissa) to Malībār."‡

Muhammadan officers in the service of Dēvarāya II:—The kings of Vijayanagara maintained a strong body of Muhammadan troops in their army. According to Ferishta, the practice of employing the Mussalmans in the army was first begun by Dēvarāya II. It is said that he summoned 'a council of his nobility and the principal brahmins', and asked them to explain why he was frequently defeated by the Bahmanī Sultāns notwithstanding his superiority to them in the extent of territory, population and revenue. They pointed out that the superiority of the Mussalmans was due to two facts: first, they possessed better horses than the Hindus; second, they had a great body of excellent archers in their service.

* *Forgotten Empire*, p. 302. † *E.D.* iv, pp. 102, 103.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 105.

On hearing this, Dēvarāya attempted to remove these defects at once and increase the efficiency of the army. He 'gave orders to enlist Mussalmans in his service, allotting to them estates, and erecting a mosque for them in the city Beejanuggar.'* Some of the Muhammadan officers in the Vijayanagara service are mentioned in the *kaifiyats*. The family of one of these officers held Pāṇem with its dependent territory as a *jāgīr* for nearly one hundred years from A.D. 1393 to 1497 It was at first granted to Sa'bat Mulk by Prauḍhadēvarāya in A. D. 1393, and he and his successors held the place as shown below (57).

No.	Name of the overlord.	Name of the *jagīrdar.*	Dates.	
			Śaka	Christian.
1.	Prauḍhadēvarāya ...	Sa'bat Mulk ...	1315 Śrīmukha to 1335 Vijaya	1393–1413
2.		Khānā Khāna Voḍeya.	1336 Jaya to 1366 Raktākṣi	1414–1444
3.	Nil ...	Sultān Voḍeyar, the son of 2 ...	1367 (?) to 1406 Krōdhi	1445–1484
4.	Sāḷuva Vīra Narasingarāya ...	Rājā Khān Voḍeyar, the son of 3 ...	1407 Viśvāvasu to 1419 Pingaḷa	1485–1497

It must be noted that the *kaifiyat* agrees but partially with Ferishta. The Vijayanagara kings, no doubt, enlisted Mussalman soldiers in their service, and granted estates to their officers; but the practice did not commence with Dēvarāya II's desire to improve the efficiency of his army in A. D. 1437. According to the *kaifiyat* cited above, the fort of Pāṇem was bestowed as a *jāgīr* on Sa'bat Mulk by Prauḍhadēvarāya as early as A. D. 1393. This Prauḍhadēvarāya is not Dēvarāya II but his grandfather Dēvarāya I.† The account of the *kaifiyat* is consistent; and so far as it can be tested by

* Briggs *Ferishta* ii, pp. 430–31.

† Dēvarāya I is also referred to occasionally in his inscriptions as Prauḍhadēvarāya. See 399 of 1926 dated 1378 A.D.

epigraphical evidence, it stands the examination remarkably well. If the evidence of the *kaifiyat* be accepted, Ferishta's account must be discredited. The problem demands further investigation; and no definite conclusion can be arrived at in the present state of our knowledge.

Dēvarāya II and the temples of Hazāra Rāma and Viṭṭhalasvāmi:—Dēvarāya's activity was not confined to politics; it also manifested itself in the field of architecture. He is said to have built 'the exquisite Hazāra Rāma temple in honour of Śrī Rāma.'* There is no definite evidence to show that he was the builder of this shrine. A small epigraph consisting of a single Sanskrit *ślōka* in the *anuṣṭubh* metre, engraved on the basement of the Hazāra Rāma temple, no doubt, mentions one of the two Dēvarāyas. It runs thus:

Vāṇ=īva Bhōjarājam Tripurāmbā Vatsarājam-iva
Kāḷ=īva Vikramārkam kalayati Pamp=ādya Dēvarāyanṛpam.†

The verse seems to prove conclusively that Hazāra Rāma temple was in existence during the reign of one of the Dēvarāyas; but it rises an interesting question. The verse under consideration refers to the great favour which the Goddess Pampā had bestowed upon Dēvarāya. How did this verse come to be engraved on the basement of a temple built in honour of Śrī Rāma? Two answers are possible to this question. (1) The shrine might have been originally dedicated to Pampā, and later, when Vaiṣṇavism became dominant, it might have been converted into a Vaiṣṇava temple (2) or, more probably, the builders of the Hazāra Rāma temple might have utilised the material of an older shrine dedicated to Pampā; and the stone bearing the present inscription might have belonged to that foundation. Therefore, there is no clear evidence for ascribing the construction of the Hazāra Rāma temple to Dēvarāya.

The Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple is said to have been built by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and his successors.‡ This statement is based

* *I.A.* lvii, p. 80. † *S. I. I.* iv, No. 252.
‡ *Forgotten Empire*, p. 163.

on insufficient evidence. The inscriptions of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and his succesors, are, no doubt, found engraved on the walls of the temple; but, as they only record the grants of land to the temple and its servants, they cannot enable us to attribute its construction to these monarchs. On the contrary, there is evidence to show that this temple was in existence long before the accession of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. It is stated in the introduction of Haribhaṭṭa's *Uttara Nārasimhapurāṇa* that Prōluganṭi Tippana, one of the commanders of Dēvarāya II, built a *gōpura* to the temple of Virūpākṣa and constructed the *bhōga-maṇṭapa* of Viṭṭhalasvāmi, besides making benefactions to the other important shrines in the city (48). It is obvious that Viṭṭhala's temple was already an old shrine in the time of Dēvarāya II. It must have had its origin in the early days of the Sangama dynasty.

The economic, social and religious conditions.—The first half of the fifteenth century was an age of great literary activity. Several kings of the age, such as Dēvarāya II, Sarvajña Singa, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, Kāṭaya Vēma and others were great scholars. They took considerable interest in the development of literature, and offered encouragement to men of letters. Dēvarāya II was himself a scholar, and the composition of two works in Sanskṛit, the *Mahānāṭakasudhānidhi* and a *Vṛtti* on Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahma Sutras* is ascribed to him.* Like most of his contemporary princes, he extended his patronage to men of letters and lavished upon them gifts with an unsparing hand, irrespective of their creed or nationality. Consequently his court became the meeting place of scholars, poets, philosophers and theologians, who contended with one another to establish their superiority in art and scholarship. Famous scholars from all parts of South India flocked to Vijayanagara, attracted by the well-known generosity of Dēvarāya, and attempted to win recognition by challenging the court pandits and poets for a literary disputation. The Rāya presided over these discussions, and

* *Sources*, p. 60; *Vijayanagara Sex-Centenary Volume*, p. 377.

adjudged the respective merits of the disputants. Several literary debates of the reign are mentioned in the literature of the period. The most sensational dispute on record is the one in which the Telugu poet Śrīnātha overthrew the poet-laureate Diṇḍima. Dēvarāya honoured the victorious Telugu poet by causing him to be bathed in a shower of golden *tankas* in the famous Pearl Hall in the presence of the assembled scholars. This was a unique honour, reserved for poets and scholars of extraordinary merit. Besides, they obtained costly gifts of jewels and tax-free gifts of land. The great honour shown to men of letters, and the value set upon learning promoted literature, science and philosophy.

The poets and scholars who wandered in search of patronage from one court to another passed through many lands; and they came into contact with peoples whose habits of life differed very much from their own. The experiences of some of these wandering scholars are preserved in literature, and though originally composed for amusement, these descriptions throw valuable light on the economic, social and religious conditions of the age of which we are otherwise ignorant. The poet Śrīnātha, who was a great traveller, visited the courts of all the famous South Indian kings of his time, and during the course of his peregrinations, he saw many cities and villages.

The places that figure in Śrīnātha's poems are Palnāḍ, Rēnāḍ, Ẹruva, Rājahmandry, Koṇḍavīḍu, Vijayanagara, and Conjeevaram, besides many other places of smaller importance. He mentions many interesting facts about agriculture. Owing to the fitful rainfall there was water scarcity in Palnāḍ; the staple product of the country was cholam, and rice was practically unknown. The same conditions obtained in the neighbouring districts of Ẹruva and Rēnāḍ where cereals and cholam were cultivated respectively. The country in the neighbourhood of Vijayanagara was very fertile; grapes, betel, plantains and other fruits grew there in abundance. In the Tamil country where rice was evidently cultivated, the fields were ploughed by means of tiny ploughs drawn by buffaloes.

Palnāḍ seems to have specially excited the anger of Śrīnātha. He never lets an opportunity go without making some bitter remarks at the expense of the district and its inhabitants. The towns were contemptible; the villages were small; the houses were filthy; and the people were rude and inhospitable. The staple food of the peoples in Palnāḍ, Rēnāḍ, Eṛuva, etc., was cholam, whereas all civilised men ate rice. The Drāviḍas talked big; but their standard of living was low; the pungent *cāru* (pepper water), dishes made of cereals and leaves, even those of the bitter margosa, were applauded as delicacies. In Karṇāṭa, garlic and sesamum seeds entered largely into the composition of food which was generally unpalatable. The people ate porridge of ragi.

The dress of the people varied with the country and the general culture of the society. The finest garment known to the people of Masara (Kōlār) was the rough woollen blanket on which white lice crawled; they put on dirty clothes, and wore the turban at an angle; the Karṇāṭakas dressed themselves in a dhoti, laced-cloak, and cap; the merchants of the west country wore dhotis of ochre-colour impregnated with the smell of the sweat.

Śrīnātha's verses do not give us much information about the religious conditions of the age; but they throw some light on popular religion especially of Palnāḍ. There were temples in almost all the villages dedicated both to Viṣṇu and Śiva. The heroes were the divine lingas; Cenna was Viṣṇu; Kallu Pōturāju was Kālabhairava; and Ankamma, the Śakti, was Annapūrṇa; and the town of Kāremapūḍi was Kāśi. Every small stone was a godling. Such was the religion which found favour with the people of Palnāḍ.

The villages were governed by a body of officials of whom the *karṇam*, *reḍḍi* and the *nāyaḍu* were the most important. In addition to these, mention is made of the village *purōhit*; but he was a humble servant of the villagers; and he played no part in the village administration.

CHAPTER XII.

MALLIKĀRJUNA.

The *Kaifiyat* of Malamīdi-Kambāladinne states that Mallikārjuna ruled for 19 years from Ś.S. 1354 to 1372 (A.D. 1432 to 1450) (61). The dates given by the *kaifiyat* are not accurate, though the duration of the period of his rule very nearly coincides with that deduced from the inscriptions. Mallikārjuna, according to the inscriptions, appears to have ascended the throne in A.D. 1447 and ruled until the middle of A.D. 1465.

The accession of Mallikārjuna marks the beginning of a long period of decline of the royal power which only terminated with the disappearance of his dynasty about A.D. 1485. The *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* briefly describes the political condition of the kingdom after the death of Dēvarāya II (14).

"After the death of the ninth king (Dēvarāya II) of this dynasty, there will be much distress in the country. Then (the kingdom) will be ruled only by three kings. The last prince of this dynasty, being harassed by the enemies, will cross the river (Tungabhadrā), and take refuge in a foreign country, where he will perish without doubt."

The distress in the country referred to in the *Kālajñāna*, was mainly due to two factors. In the first place, the nobles of the kingdom, taking advantage of the dissensions in the royal family and the incompetence of Mallikārjuna showed an inclination to disregard his authority. The Velamas of Rācakoṇḍa were obliged, as already noticed, to migrate from their native country, owing to the expansion of the power of the Bahmanī Sulṭāns into Telingāṇa. A branch of this family penetrated southwards into the Vijayanagara kingdom, and seized Velugōḍu in the east of the Kurnool district, which became an important centre of Velama power thenceforward. Though they recognized the suzerainty of the Rāya, they

came into conflict with his nobles and local officers in their efforts to adjust themselves to their new environment. The most important chief that stood as an obstacle in the path of the Velamas was a certain Pōlēpalli Bukkarāju, who held the important fort of Gaṇḍikōṭa. He appears to have been a person of great valour, and, if the poetry of the bards can be trusted, a knight without fear and without reproach. The conflict between Peda Singama Annama and Bukkarāju, and the former's death in a night attack, and the subsequent capture of the latter in the fort of Poḍacēḍu are described in the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* (62). The activities of the turbulent noblemen such as these disturbed the peace of the kingdom, and by weakening the royal authority, paved the way for foreign invasions.

Secondly, the enemies, whom Dēvarāya II had harassed, took advantage of the accession of Mallikārjuna to attack the kingdom. The dramatist, Gangādhara, as noticed already, gives an account of the earliest of these attacks. He states that the Bahmanī Sulṭān and the Gajapati, who had been defeated by Dēvarāya II formerly, marched upon Vijayanagara as soon as they obtained information of the death of their old enemy lay siege to the city and that Mallikārjuna, notwithstanding his youth, is said to have sallied out of the fort and put them to flight.*

The Bahmanī Sulṭān at the time of Mallikārjuna's accession was 'Alā-ud-Dīn II who ruled from A.D. 1435 to 1461. He was discomfited in a war with Dēvarāya II and it was only natural that he should have made a fresh attack upon the infidel state, when a favourable opportunity presented itself. The Gajapati king who is said to have made common cause with the Muhammadans was Kapilēśvara. The early history of this monarch is shrouded in mystery and legend. The *Mādalā Pāñji* states that Kapilēśvara who was a minister of Bhānudēva IV of the Eastern Ganga family usurped the throne after

* *Sources*, p. 66.

the death of his master* probably with the help of the Mussalmans.† According to the *Kaṭakarājavaṁśāvaḷi*, Kapilēśvara was not a minister but an adopted son of Akaṭa Bhānudēva. It is said, that during the last days of Akaṭa Bhānudēva, the Moghuls (Muhammadans) invaded his country, and demanded a large ransom. The king paid a portion of it and for the remainder left his son as a hostage. He died soon after. The Moghuls released Kapila and he was anointed king over the Ōḍhra country (74). It is not possible to state how far these chronicles are trustworthy. The truth about the circumstances in which Kapilēśvara rose to power must be discovered by future investigations.

The causes of Kapilēśvara's war upon Vijayanagara have already been stated. He wanted to establish his authority over the whole of Telingāṇa, and humiliate the Rāya of Vijayanagara who defeated him on a former occasion. In order to achieve his object successfully, he allied himself with the Bahmanī Sulṭān, and marched at the head of a large army to Vijayanagara and invested the city. Kapilēśvara's attack upon Vijayanagara is also mentioned in later records. According to the Anantavaram copper-plate grant of Pratāparudra Gajapati dated 1500 A. D., Kapilēśvara laid siege to Vijayanagara, the capital of Karṇāṭa (69). R. D. Banerjee, however, denies that Kapilēśvara entered into an alliance with the Sulṭān‡. The reasons which he brings forward in support of his contention are not very convincing. The Russian traveller, Nikitin, alludes, in his diary, to a Mussalman attack upon Vijayanagara, and its capture.§ Although it is not possible to decide definitely when this attack was made, it is not unlikely that Nikitin and Gangādhara allude to the same event.

The date of the siege :—When did Kapilēśvara invest the city of Vijayanagara? According to Gangādhara the event took place soon after the accession of Mallikārjuna. Dēvarāya II

* Banerjee: *History of Orissa* I, pp. 287-88.

† *J. A. S. B.* 1900 LXIX, p. 182.

‡ *The History of Orissa* I, pp. 293-4.

§ *India in the 15th Century* iii, p. 29.

died in A. D. 1446 and he was succeeded by Vijaya II, who ruled for a short time. Mallikārjuna's coronation was probably celebrated some time in A. D. 1447. The *Kaṭakarājavaṁśāvaḷi* and the *Kaifiyat of Jagannātham* state that Kapilēśvara laid siege to Vidyānagara in his 19th year (*i.e.*, A. D. 1449–50) and took possession of the kingdom from its ruler and bestowed the kingship on Amīr (Ambīra) (71). This may provisionally be accepted as the date of the siege of Vijayanagara by the combined armies of the Bahmanī Sulṭān and the Gajapati.

How the siege terminated cannot be ascertained at present, as both the sides claim victory in the fight. Gangādhara states that "Mallikārjuna sallied forth from his capital, like the cub of a lion from his den, and routed the armies of the besiegers after completely defeating them in battle."* The Anantavaram grant, on the contrary, asserts that Kapilēśvara not only captured Vidyānagara but exacted (from its ruler) a huge sum of money as tribute (69). It is not possible for us to discover which of these statements is true.

The conquest of Rājahmandry and Koṇḍavīḍu.—The date of Kapilēśvara's conquest of Rājahmandry is not known; but it is certain that the conquest was completed some time before A.D. 1458, for it is stated in an inscription dated in that year that one of his officers, Raghudēva Narēndra Mahāpātra was governing the kingdom of Rājamahēndravara.† The conquest of Rājahmandry must have preceded that of Koṇḍavīḍu. According to the Cāvāli grant, Gāṇadēva, one of Kapilēśvara's cousins, was governing Koṇḍavīḍu in A.D. 1455.‡ In an epigraph of Cintalapalle dated in the previous year, he is said to have been ruling at Addanki, Vinikoṇḍa, and Koṇḍavīḍu.§ It is evident that Kapilēśvara completed his conquest of Koṇḍavīḍu, and consequently also of Rājahmandry before A.D. 1454. The authority of Dēvarāya II over the territory of Koṇḍavīḍu was recognised until his death in A.D. 1446. One of the Sāḷuva chiefs, Mīsaragaṇḍa Kaṭhāri Tippayyadēva Mahārāja was

* *The Sources*, p. 66.
† *S. I. I.* v, 100.
‡ *I. A.* xx, pp. 390-393.
§ 70 of 1917.

holding sway over the country in the neighbourhood of Bāpatla in A.D. 1449.* It is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to know whether he ruled over the district as an independent chief or as a subordinate of Mallikārjuna. In either case, it is certain that Koṇḍavīḍu did not fall into the hands of the Gajapati until A. D. 1449. Although the available evidence does not clearly indicate the date of the conquest of Rājahmandry, it is not unlikely that it took place before A.D. 1450, as an inscription found in the northern extremity of the Rājahmandry kingdom shows clearly that Kapilēśvara's authority was recognized in that region as early as A. D. 1450.†

Kapilēśvara appears to have received considerable help from some of the Kṣatriya and Velama chiefs of Telingāṇa in subjugating the Vijayanagara territory. Pūsapāṭi Tammarāja, one of the ancestors of the Zamindar of Vizianagaram, appears to have played an important part in Kapilēśvara's wars in the Telugu country. His father Rāciräju was either an ally or a subordinate of Dēvarāya II (52). When the power of the Rāyas declined on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, Rācirāju or probably his son Tamma changed his master and transferred his allegiance to the Gajapati. Tamma is referred to in the bardic poetry of the time as the bearer of the burden of the kingdom of king Kapilēśvara, who was the emperor of all the *rājanyas* (53-a). He attacked Śrīrangarāja, the Vijayanagara governor of Bellamkoṇḍa, and captured that fort; he vanquished the famous Rāvu Singa, who bore the title of *Tribhuvanīrāya* in the battle of Pedavīḍu and put him to death (53 b, c). Another subordinate of the Gajapati who distinguished himself in the Telugu wars was Jagarāo Tippa. He seems to have been an adherent of Amparāya (Ambīra) and participated in the battles of his master. He claims to have inflicted defeats at Koṇḍavīḍu and Pedakoṇḍa on Camuḍapāmātya, an officer probably of the Vijayanagara kings. Kapilēśvara's conquests appear to have extended up to the Śrīśailam and a large part of the Kurnool district‡

* 771 of 1922. † *S. I. I.* vi, 1089. ‡ 30 of 1915.

including the new Velama principality of Velugōḍu passed into his hands (74).

The conquest of Telingāṇa.—Kapilēśvara next turned his attention to Telingāṇa. That country remained in a state of turmoil ever since the time of its conquest by Aḥmad Shāh in 1425. The Velamas of Rācakoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa who were forced to submit to him at that time, attempted to shake off the Muslim yoke in A. D. 1434; but their attempt was frustrated. Though the ruler of Warangal was forgiven, a portion of his territory was conferred as a *jāgīr* upon Sanjār Khān, one of Aḥmad Shāh's retainers. Telingāṇa was once again in the throes of rebellion during the last years of the reign of 'Alā-ud-Dīn II. Jalāl Khān and his son Sikandar Khān rose up in rebellion against their master in A. D. 1453, and sought the aid of Maḥamūd Khaljī, the Sulṭān of Mālwa. 'Alā-uḍ-Dīn who was confined to his sick-bed despatched Maḥamūd Gāwān against the rebels; and he seems to have received considerable help from Linga I, the Velama chief of Dēvarakoṇḍa.* Gāwān laid siege to Bālkoṇḍa, the rebel stronghold, and captured it. Jalāl Khān and his son were forgiven and they were allowed to retain Bālkoṇḍa in their possession.† 'Alā-ud-Dīn II, dying soon after, was succeeded by his son, Humāyūn. He sat upon the throne for three years (A.D. 1458–1461). During his short reign a fresh rebellion broke out in Telingāṇa, once again headed by the unrepentent Jalāl Khān and his son Sikandar. The Hindus of Telingāṇa, especially the Velamas of Dēvarakoṇḍa, supported them. Humāyūn marched at the head of the army against the rebels and killed Sikandar Khān who came to oppose him. Then he proceeded to Bālkoṇḍa, and having effected its capture after a week's investment, took Jalāl Khān prisoner. Next, he marched to Warangal with the object of punishing the Hindus for their share in the rebellion; thence he despatched a large army under the command of Khwāja-i-Jahān and

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* *Velugōṭivari Vaṁśavali*, p. 49.

† Briggs *Ferishta* ii, pp. 447-9; *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, *I. A.* xxviii, pp. 240-1.

Nizām-ul-Mulk to reduce Dēvarakoṇḍa. They proceeded against the fort, and laid siege to it, when the Velamas appealed to Kapilēśvara for help.

Kapilēśvara who was eager to bring the whole of Telingāṇa under his sway, promptly responded to the appeal of the Velamas. He sent a large army, to their assistance. Prince Hamvīra who was the commander of the army marched his troops so quickly that the besiegers were completely taken by surprise. Attacked by the forces of Kapilēśvara in the rear, and the Velamas who sallied out of the fort, the Muslim army was cut to pieces, and both the Muslim generals sought safety in flight. On hearing of this disaster, Humāyūn Shāh put Nizām-ul-Mulk to death and imprisoned Khwāja i-Jahān. Owing to the outbreak of a rebellion in the capital, the Sulṭān could not endeavour to retrieve the misfortune. He entrusted the defence of Telingāṇa to Mahamūd Gāwān, and hastened to Bīdar to suppress the rebellion.*

The task, which Mahamūd Gāwān was asked to perform, was not an easy one. He had to face an attack of the ablest and the most powerful Hindu monarch of the age. Kapilēśvara was not slow in taking advantage of his victory. The army under his son Ambīrarāya, marched against Warangal to liberate the Hindus from the Muhammadan yoke. Ambīra inflicted a defeat upon Gāwān, and captured Warangal in A.D. 1460.† Humāyūn Shāh did not make any attempt to recapture Warangal. It is said that, at the time of his death (A. D. 1461) he summoned Mahamūd Gāwān from Telingāṇa, and made him a member of the council of regency which he constituted to govern the country during the minority of his son, Nizām Shāh. The retirement of Mahamūd Gāwān from Telingāṇa, opened the way for the march of Kapilēśvara's army upon the Bahmanī capital. The zamindars of Telingāṇa joined him willingly with all their forces. Thus supported,

* Briggs: *Ferishta* ii, pp. 456-8; *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, *I.A.* xxviii, p. 244.
† *The Bhārati* xii, Part i, pp. 426 f.

Kapilēśvara advanced at the head of a mighty host, and reached the neighbourhood of Bidar, where he lay encamped at a distance of ten miles from the city. The Muhammadan historians declare that this vast host was repulsed and put to flight by one of the captains of Niẓām Shāh, supported by one hundred and sixty horsemen! It is incredible that the war-worn veterans of Kapilēśvara who had successfully fought against the Mussalmans of Dehlī, Bengal and Mālwa, should have turned tail at the sight of a few Bahmanī troopers. It is not unlikely that he captured the capital of the Bahmanī Sulṭān on this occasion and assumed the title of *Kalubarigēśvara*. Whatever be the true results of this attack, Kapilēśvara still lingered in the neighbourhood and carried on his depradatory expeditions unchecked at the time of the invasion of Maḥamūd Khaljī of Mālwa.* Kapilēśvara's campaign against the Bahmanī Sulṭān was completely successful and as a consequence the Telugu districts of the Bahmanī kingdom passed into his hands.

The conquest of Udayagiri.—The conquest of Udayagiri is not mentioned in any of Kapilēśvara's inscriptions. However, the fort must have been conquered by him some time before A.D. 1470, as, according to the *Sāḷuvābhyudayam*, it was in his possession at the time of Sāḷuva Narasimha's accession to the throne of Candragiri. It is stated in the Telugu *Prabōdhacandrōdayam*, a contemporary work, that Basava, a son of Tammarāya, of Kanṭamarāja's family, who is said to have been the adamantine gate to all the forts of the Gajapati and the Sulṭān, broke into the fort of Udayagiri in such a manner that he destroyed the pride of all his wily foes.† This achievement must probably be attributed to his father Tammarāya, as he is said to have been the ruler of the fort in two inscriptions dated A.D. 1470.‡ When did Basava, or more probably his father, capture Udayagiri? According to the *Kaṭakarājavaṁśāvaḷi*, Kapilēśvara 'ruled as far as Sētu (Rāmēśvaram)

* *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, *I.A.* xxviii, p. 277; *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī* iii, p. 344.

† *Prabōdhacandrōdayam*, 1: 16.

‡ *N. D. I.* iii, U. 28, 29.

in the 25th year, *i.e.*, A.D. 1454–55 (71). This is too early a date for his conquest of the South. Moreover, Udayagiri which stood on his path to the South, remained in the possession of the Vijayanagara king until A.D. 1462.* Therefore, it could not have fallen into the hands of the Gajapati or his subordinates before that date. It is very likely that Tammarāja and his son Basava who seems to have accompanied Kumāra Hamvīra Mahāpātra in his southern expedition, helped him in capturing the fort. And it remained in the possession of the Gajapati until A.D. 1471, when Sāḷuva Narasimha recaptured it.

The conquest of the South (*A. D. 1463*).—Kapilēśvara undertook the conquest of the Vijayanagara territory extending to the south of Koṇḍavīḍu in A.D. 1463. According to the Anantavaram copper-plate grant, Kumāra Hamvīra, at the command of his father, subdued the kings of the southern quarter and washed his sword clotted with their blood in the water of the southern ocean (69). The details of this campaign are not available at present, though the names of a number of forts such as Candragiri, Paḍaivīḍu, Vaḷudulampaṭṭi-Usāvaḍi, Tiruvārūr and Tiruccilāppaḷḷi, which he captured are mentioned in the inscription.† The fort of Udayagiri must have been captured, as noticed already, during the course of this expedition. Another city which fell into the hands of the invader was Kāñcī.‡

The conquered territory was placed under the control of Kumāra Kapilēśvara Mahāpātra, a son of Kumāra Hamvīra, who seems to have assisted his father during this campaign. As a result of this expedition, the kingdom of Orissa reached the greatest extent which it was ever destined to reach, and Kapilēśvara became the master of a far flung empire extending from the Ganges to the Kāvērī.

The nature of the Uriya conquest.—The Gajapati conquest of the Tamil districts is said to have been 'an occupation of the

* *Ibid*, *I. A.* 31. † 92 of 1919. ‡ *J. A. S. B.* lxix (1900), p. 177.

southern country,' and 'not a passing inroad'*. This statement is based on an allusion to the Orissan invasion in two epigraphs dated A.D. 1470–71 and 1472-73 respectively.† One of them, inscribed on the wall of Trivikrama Perumāḷ temple at Tirukkōyilūr in the South Arcot district dated Ś.S. 1327, refers to the confusion caused by the Oḍḍiyan about '8 or 10 years ago,' and to the consequent decay of the shrine of Viṣṇu.‡ The other engraved on the wall of the *maṇḍapa* of Jambunātha temple at Jambai in the same district dated Ś. S. 1395 'refers to the confusion caused by the Oḍḍiyan, and the consequent cessation of the festivals in the Śiva temple at Jambai'.§ These inscriptions do not establish, as the epigraphist would have us believe, that the conquest of the Tamil districts by the Gajapati was 'an occupation' and 'not a passing inroad.' The epigraphist seems to believe that the Orissan occupation lasted for '8 or 10 years,' *i.e.*, from the date of the invasion to the year when the epigraphs under consideration were inscribed. As a matter of fact, however, they merely allude to the Oḍḍiyan invasion which took place some '8 or 10 years' before, and the manner in which it affected the affairs of these temples. In one case the repairs were stopped, and in the other the celebration of the festivals had to be given up evidently for want of funds. During the Oḍḍiyan invasion, the country was plundered, and the plunderers did not make any distinction between the property of the gods and of men. The Oḍḍiyan invasion referred to in these inscriptions appears to have been a mere raid, and it did not affect the continuance of the rule of the Vijayanagara sovereigns. The evidence of the inscriptions clearly shows that the Tamil districts still remained under the control of Mallikārjuna and his successors. An epigraph engraved on the left side of the entrance into the first *prākāra* of the Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ temple at Little Conjeevaram shows that Mallikārjuna's authority was recognised in the Chingleput district in A.D. 1465.¶ According to another inscription at Munnūr in the South Arcot district dated

* *A. R. E.* 1918-19 ii, p. 106.

† 1 of 1905; 93 of 1906.

‡ *A. R. E.* 1907 ii, Para. 56.

§ *Ibid.*

¶ 37 of 1890; *I. A.* xxi, p. 321.

A.D. 1466, this part of the country which was under the Gajapati two years earlier had already passed into the hands of Sāḷuva Narasimha.* A third record inscribed on the wall of the *maṇḍapa* near Maṇavāḷar Sannidhi in Little Conjeevaram shows that Virūpākṣa's sway was acknowledged in that region in A.D. 1467.† These inscriptions show the unbroken continuity of the rule of Vijayanagara kings over the Tamil districts during this period. Therefore, 'the only safe conclusion to adopt is', in the words of Sewell, 'that the expedition so far to the south, of the Orissa force from Koṇḍavīḍ, was merely a sudden raid followed by speedy withdrawal.'‡

The Gajapati invasion, it is true, did not seriously affect the trend of political life in the Tamil districts; but it destroyed the power of the Rāyas in the two Telugu districts along the coast. This part of the Vijayanagara kingdom was annexed to the Gajapati dominions. Uriya garrisons were posted at all important forts and Uriya governors were appointed to carry on the administration of the territory dependent upon them.

Mallikārjuna did not long survive the Gajapati invasion. The loss of prestige and dominion was probably too much for him. His last inscription is dated in June A.D. 1465. As the coronation of his cousin Virūpākṣa II was celebrated in October of the same year,§ he seems to have died some time between June and October A.D. 1465.

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* 53 of 1919.

† 658 of 1919.

‡ *Historical Inscriptions*, p. 225.

§ *E. I.* xv, pp. 8, 24.

CHAPTER XIII.

VIRŪPĀKṢA II.

After Mallikārjuna's death, the throne was usurped by Virūpākṣa II. Considerable difference of opinion exists among scholars regarding his relationship with Mallikārjuna. Some hold that he was a cousin of Mallikārjuna, being the son of his paternal uncle, Pratāpadēvarāya. Others vigorously repudiate this and maintain that Virūpākṣa II was a son of Dēvarāya II, and therefore a brother or half-brother of Mallikārjuna.

Now, the Śrīśailam plates* give an exact account of the parentage of Virūpākṣa. Verses 16–17 of the inscription state that a prince named Pratāpadēvarāya was born to Vijayabhūpati and his queen Nārāyaṇāmbikā; and that 'he obtained the Ghanādri-*rājya* (Penugoṇḍa territory) from his elder brother.' It follows from this (1) that Virūpākṣa's father's name was Pratāpadēvarāya, and (2) that the latter had obtained the Ghanādri-*rājya* as an appanage from his elder brother.

Pratāpadēvarāya mentioned in this grant must not be identified, as is sometimes done, with Dēvarāya II. In the first place, there is no evidence to show that Dēvarāya II had any elder brother, of whom he could have been a subordinate. Secondly, the inscriptions refer to him as the supreme ruler of the whole kingdom, and they do not suggest even remotely that he ever filled a subordinate place. Lastly, the acquisition of the Penugoṇḍa-*rājya* from an elder brother is not alluded to either in his own records or that of his son, Mallikārjuna. Owing to these considerations it is not possible to identify Pratāpadēvarāya, the father of Virūpākṣa, with Dēvarāya II. Who then was this Pratāpadēvarāya? And what was the name of his elder brother from whom he obtained the Penugoṇḍa-*rājya*?

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* *E.I.* xv, p. 24.

These questions are answered by the Satyamangalam plates, which disclose the identity of Pratāpadēvarāya and his unnamed elder brother. According to this grant, Vijaya had by his queen Narāyaṇāmbikā, a son, Dēvarāya II, whose glory was 'made resplendent by his younger brother Pratāpadēvarāya just as that of Mahēndra by his younger brother Upēndra (Viṣṇu).'* Here we have clear evidence to show that Dēvarāya II had an younger brother called Pratāpadēvarāya.† This prince 'was successively governor, under his elder brother, of Terukanambi in Mysore, Mulbāgal-*rājya*, and later still of Marakatanagara-*prānta*'.‡ It is assumed that he predeceased his brother, having died in A.D. 1446;§ but this is wrong, as the Sravaṇa-Belgola epigraph¶ on which this assertion is based refers to the death of Dēvarāya II himself, and not to that of his younger brother, Pratāpadēvarāya. As a matter of fact, he was alive at least ten years after the demise of his illustrious elder brother. An interesting epigraph from Bādinēnipalli in the Kurnool district dated A.D. 1456 registers a gift of land made by a subordinate of Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Pratāpadēva Mahārāya who was ruling the kingdom seated on the diamond throne, with Penugoṇḍa as his capital (68). This epigraph brings to light a Pratāpadēva Mahārāya who was ruling at Penugoṇḍa ten years after the death of Dēvarāya II. As the name of this prince and the seat of his political power are the same as those of the father of Virūpākṣa, it is not unreasonable to believe that they were identical. It follows from this that Virūpākṣa was a cousin and not a brother or half-brother of Mallikārjuna.

Though no information is available regarding the circumstances in which Virūpākṣa came to the throne, it seems that

* *E. I.* iii, p. 40.

† T. A. Gopinatha Rao makes a vain attempt to nullify the evidence of this inscription by assuming that the engraver of the grant wrongly inscribed *Pratāpadēvarāyēṇa* for *Pratāpadēvarāyasya* in l. 36. (See *E. I.* xv, p. 16).

‡ S.K.Ayangar: *Commemorative Essays*, presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 256.

§ *Ibid.*

¶ *E. C.* ii (revised) No. 328.

he forcibly took possession of it. The story in the Vaiṣṇavite work *Prapannāmṛtam* attributes his succession to a dastardly deed of murder perpetrated by him when the victims were under the spell of sleep;* but it is impossible to take the weird story of *Prapannāmṛtam* seriously. The time for giving a connected account of the early career of Virūpākṣa has not yet come. Future investigation alone can dispel the darkness hanging over the history of this period.

Although Virūpākṣa proudly asserts that he had vanquished the enemies at the point of his sword, his kingdom was infested with the enemies both external and internal. He did nothing either to expel the Uriyas from the kingdom or to keep the ambitious Nāyakas under control. Nuniz gives a very poor estimate of his character as a ruler, and says that 'he was given over to vice, caring for nothing but women, and to fuddle himself with drink.'† The authority of the central government declined, and the outlying provinces asserted their independence. The whole kingdom would have probably fallen an easy prey to foreign conquerors, had not some of the patriotic nobles exerted themselves.

The most outstanding event of the reign was the expulsion of the Uriyas; but, as mentioned already, Virūpākṣa did not take any part in the affair. The task of liberating the country, therefore, devolved upon his nobles, especially Sāḷuva Narasimha the ruler of Candragiri. Narasimha was a scion of the influential Sāḷuva family, the members of which held important offices of great responsibility and trust under the government. He was a descendant of the famous Sāḷuva chief, Mangi, who played an important part in the southern wars of Kumāra Kampaṇa and who ultimately established himself in the neighbourhood of Candragiri. Of Sāḷuva Narasimha's father Guṇḍa III not much is known except that he ruled at a place called Kalyāṇa and had two sons, Tirumala and Narasimha. It is not known when Sāḷuva

* *Sources*, pp. 71-9.

† *Forgotten Empire*, p. 305.

Narasimha succeeded his father on the throne of Candragiri. From the fact that his earliest known inscription is dated in A.D. 1456,* it may be assumed that he came to power either during that year or a little earlier. He must have been ruling at Candragiri at the time when Kumāra Hamvīra led his armies to the South in A.D. 1463 and was probably forced to pay tribute to the Gajapati.† This was the origin of his hostility towards the Uriyas; and throughout his long career, he spared no effort in waging incessant war upon them.

The events connected with Narasimha's war with the Gajapati are described by several writers; the account of Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima, one of the poets of Narasimha's court, is of greater importance than others as it describes the campaign at some length. According to the *Sāḷuvābhyudayam*, a poem in which Ḍiṇḍima glorifies the Sāḷuva family, Narasimha was advised, on the death of his father, by the ministers to wrest the fort of Udayagiri which was in the possession of the Gajapati, or the king of Kaḷinga, at that time. Having agreed with the view of his ministers, he marched at the head of his army to take Udayagiri. The king of Kaḷinga naturally attempted to oppose him; but he was defeated and forced to take refuge in the fort. Narasimha followed him thither, and having laid siege to it, captured it by scaling its walls. The king of Kaḷinga submitted; and placed himself with all his dependents under the protection of his victorious enemy.‡

The account of the *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* appears to be based on facts. We learn from the Muhammadan historians that Sāḷuva Narasimha made himself the master of the east coast up to the Kṛṣṇā, some time before A.D. 1475. It is improbable that he would have advanced up to the Kṛṣṇā leaving behind him such an important fort as Udayagiri in the hands of the enemy.

* 253 of 1904.

† Cf. the following statement of the *Kaṭakarāja Vaṁśāvaḷi* (71). *Pañca-viṁśati vatsarē sētu-paryantam rājyam kṛtavān.*

‡ *Sources*, pp. 90-102.

Moreover, the *Jaiminībhāratam* and the *Varāhapurāṇam,* two contemporary works, refer to Narasiṁha's victory over the Uriyas and the consequent subjugation of Udayagiri.* Therefore Sāḷuva Narasiṁha's conquest of Udayagiri must be regarded as a fact. There is one point, however, which demands explanation. The *Sāḷuvābhyudayam,* refers to a Kaḷingarāja whom Narasiṁha captured at Udayagiri. The name of this chief is not known. Any attempt to discover his identity involves the discussion of the time when Narasiṁha captured the fort. Two epigraphs at Udayagiri make it clear that the fort remained under the control of Kanṭamarāju Tammarāya until A.D. 1470.† Kapilēśvara died, according to tradition on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, probably at Koṇḍapalli, in the same year. The available evidence shows that the country up to the Kṛṣṇā passed into the hands of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha immediately after. Now, had the presence of Kapilēśvara in the south any connection with Sāḷuva Narasiṁha's attack upon the Gajapati dominions? Did Kapilēśvara or his son Puruṣōttama, who appears to have been present in the camp of his father at the time of his death, participate in the defence operations at Udayagiri? It is not unlikely that they should have done so. But it is hazardous to base a conclusion on a surmise. For the present, it may be assumed that Ḍiṇḍima treated the defeat of Tammarāja, the Uriya commandant of the fort, as that of his master.

After the fall of Udayagiri, Narasiṁha's path for the conquest of the Telugu country to the north lay open; but instead of proceeding northwards, he is said to have turned, on the contrary, towards the south. The reason for his return to the south is not mentioned in the *Sāḷuvābhyudayam*; but he is said to have proceeded against a Cōḷa king, who, however, fled on the approach of his army. Very little is known about the identity of the Cōḷa king, or the cause of Narasiṁha's attack upon him. Inscriptions of the period, however, show that at this time, there was trouble

* *Sources*, pp. 86, 89.

† *N.D.I.* iii, U. 28, 29.

in the Cōḷa country, 'where a local chief, Kampa, claiming descent from the Cōḷas, opposed Sāḷuva Tirumala, (elder brother of Narasimha) in his government of the country.'* He was not alone. According to the *Jaiminībhāratam*, Narasimha scattered the 'eared-men' (*cevulapōtulu*) who settled down in the lands of the Tiguḷas (Tamils).† The 'eared-men' are probably to be identified with the Lambakarṇas who dwelt on the northern borders of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. If this is the correct interpretation of the term, it may be suggested that the Cōḷa was supported by a chief of the Pāṇḍyan family. Curiously enough, an inscription in the Ēkāmranātha temple at Kāñcī dated A.D. 1469 indicates the presence of the Pāṇḍyan chief, Bhuvanēkavīran Samarakōlāhalan in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The epigraphist is of opinion that Samarakōlāhala 'occupied Conjeevaram for a short time', taking 'advantage of the weakness of the central government at Vijayanagara'.‡

It is, therefore, evident that Sāḷuva Narasimha was obliged to return to the Tamil country as soon as he captured Udayagiri, to punish the rebels and establish his authority. The details of Narasimha's campaign against the rebels are nowhere described. As noticed already, the *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* and the *Jaiminībhāratam* assert that the Cōḷa fled the country and the *cevulapōtulu* were hunted out of it. It may be concluded from this that Narasimha succeeded in stamping out rebellion in the Tamil country, and re-establishing his authority over it without much difficulty.

No information is available about Narasimha's activities during the years which immediately followed the suppression of the rebellion of the southern chiefs. We learn from the Muhammadan historians, that in A.D. 1477 his authority extended as far as the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī, and that Koṇḍavīḍu and Masulipatam were included in his dominions.§ Therefore, he appears to have spent a part, if not

* Sewell: *Historical Inscriptions*, p. 226. † *Sources*, p. 86.

‡ *A.R.E.* 1907 ii, p. 57.

§ *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* (*I.A.* xxviii, p. 288); Briggs, *Ferishta*, ii, p. 499.

the whole, of his time in subjugating the territory between Udayagiri and the Kṛṣṇā, but the events that happened during these years are not recorded. It is only possible in the present state of knowledge to indicate the probable trend of events with the help of such material as we have at our disposal.

The affairs at Telingāṇa and the Gōdāvarī delta fell into confusion on the death of Kapilēśvara in A.D. 1470, owing to the fratricidal war that broke out between his sons. The succession to the throne was disputed. Hamvīra or Ambīra and Puruṣōttama, both of them sons of Kapilēśvara by different mothers, claimed the throne, and naturally they had recourse to arms to settle their differences. The *Kaṭakarāja Vaṁśāvaḷi* alludes to these events in a cryptical manner.

"He (Kapilēśvara) had several sons, and could not decide on whom he should bestow the kingdom. Therefore, he appealed to the God*; and the God appeared to him in his dream and told him that Puruṣōttama, his son by a prostitute would succeed him. The king accompanied by the boy (went to the South) and resided in the country of Kundaram (Kundaj-hari) on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, where he died. Then Puru-ṣōttama was anointed as the king in his southern camp. When he returned to Kaṭaka (the capital), his eighteen brothers objected to his accession to the throne. It was pointed out that he was the God's choice, (and that they should not raise any objection against his accession). They said that they would test the truth of the statement by attacking him jointly, (and they proceeded to do so); but he withstood their united attack. Therefore, they surrendered the kingdom to Puruṣōttama in accordance with their pledges and retired from the coun-try" (84).

Whether God Jagannātha ever appeared to Kapilēśvara in his dream and communicated that his choice fell upon the king's illegitimate son, Puruṣōttama, cannot now be discovered;

* The God referred to here is the God Jagannātha of Pūri who was the *de facto* sovereign, and in whose name the Gajapatis ruled the kingdom as his deputies.

but it may be noted here that Kapilēśvara regarded himself strictly as a servant of Jagannātha and was in the habit of addressing pathetic appeals to the deity for help in his difficulties. Kapilēśvara appears to have chosen—whether prompted by the deity or not—Puruṣōttama as his successor and admitted him into partnership in the government of the kingdom during his last years. The inscriptions show that Kapilēśvara and Puruṣōttama ruled the kingdom jointly from A.D. 1466 to 1470. As noticed already, the former died in A.D. 1470, but the latter claims to have commenced his reign four years earlier.

Ref.	Śaka Year	*Anka*	Regnal Year	Date of accession.
A. R. E. 365 of 1896	1392	7	5	1465–6
,, 366 of 1896	1393	7	5	1465–6
,, 274 of 1896	1393	7	5	1465–6
L. R. 42, pp. 323–4.	1411	28	23	1465–6
E. I. xiii, p. 155	1412	30*	24	1465–6
A. R. E. 347 of 1896; *S.I.I.* v. 1229	1417	37	30	1465–6

It is obvious that, according to these inscriptions, Puruṣōttama began his rule in A.D. 1465–6. Now the problem is that if Kapilēśvara died in A.D. 1470, how could the rule of his successor commence in A.D. 1465–6, that is, four years earlier? Two answers are possible to this question: (1) It may be said that though the death of Kapilēśvara actually took place in A.D. 1465–6, it was kept a secret, owing to political considerations for some time. When the secret was revealed either by accident or design in A.D. 1470, people came to know of it for the first time. They believed that he died during that year. (2) Though Kapilēśvara was alive until

* The date of this record is given as '*triśaṁka*'; Barnett has corrected it as 23rd *anka*; but the correct date is *triṁśatyanka*.

A.D. 1470, he might have abdicated the throne in favour of Puruṣōttama in A.D. 1465–6, owing to his inability to attend personally to the affairs of the state on account of old age or sickness. In that case there is nothing strange in Puruṣōttama commencing to rule in A.D. 1465–6, though Kapilēśvara was alive for four more years. The latter alternative offers a satisfactory explanation of all relevant facts. Therefore, it may be considered that Kapilēśvara, having entrusted the kingdom to the care of Puruṣōttama, retired from the kingship in A.D. 1465–6. Though he was alive for a few more years, Puruṣōttama who became the sovereign, carried on the administration of the kingdom.

Civil War in Orissa.—Kapilēśvara's selection of Puruṣōttama as his successor, naturally created much heart-burning among his other sons. Hamvīra who had greatly contributed to the military success of his father was not expected to acquiesce in an arrangement which superseded his claims to the throne. He did not recognize Puruṣōttama as the lawful sovereign, and consequently civil war broke out in Orissa on the death of Kapilēśvara. Ferishta gives a brief account of the causes that led to the outbreak of this war.

"In A.H. 876 information came that the king of Uriya, having fallen ill, died.

"'He had an adopted son, a brahman who ascended the jewelled throne. He had a paternal uncle's son, Hammīr by name; as to bravery, he was absolutely brave'.

Between them there was a dispute. When the treasures and the throne came into the hands of the adopted son of the king of Uriya, he became victorious and drove Hammīr, into hills and jungles."*

It is evident from this passage that on the death of Kapilēśvara in A.D., 1470–1 there broke out a civil war in

* *Tārīkh-i-Ferishta* (Naval Kishore Press), p. 35. This is, in fact, a passage quoted from some earlier writer.

Orissa between Kapilēśvara's adopted son whom Ferishta calls Mangal Rāy and his brother's son, Hammīr. In the struggle Hammīr was worsted and was obliged to seek refuge in hills and jungles, but he did not despair. He appealed to the Bahmanī Sulṭān, Muḥammad Shāh II, for help.

"Hammīr, the paternal uncle's son of the king of Uriya, wrote a petition to the Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh that the king of Uriya died. His adopted son, Mangal Rāy has taken possession of the crown and the throne and calls himself the king of Uriya. It is time that an army should be sent to this country; and after effecting its conquest it should be handed over to me. I shall send every year a certain quantity of wealth by way of tribute to the court of the king."*

Moreover, Hammīr seems to have promised the Sulṭān that he would surrender no tonly Telingāṇa, which Kapilēśvara had wrested from the Bahmanī Sulṭān some ten years earlier, but most of the territory belonging to the old kingdom of Rājahmandry. Muḥammad Shāh promptly promised support. His predecessors suffered considerably at the hands of Kapilēśvara. Moreover, he had 'a desire to possess the territory of Uriya Rājahmandry and Kondbīr.' Therefore, he commanded Malik Ḥaṣan Baḥry, the ancestor of the kings of Aḥmadnagar, on whom he conferred the title of Niẓām-ul-Mulk to proceed to Orissa with a large army and place Hammīr upon the throne of that country. When Niẓām-ul-Mulk reached the frontier of Orissa, Hammīr, hastening to receive him became the leader of the advanced guard. And they defeated in battle Mangal Rāy, who opposed them with a large army. Niẓām-ul-Mulk then placed Hammīr in possession of his hereditary dominions. Then they proceeded to Rājahmandry and Kondbīr and conquered those two countries. According to the orders of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Niẓām-ul-Mulk took possession of the conquered places and entrusted them to trustworthy men. He sent Hammīr to

* *Ibid*, p. 351.

his own place. Then Nizām-ul-Mulk began to rule the Telugu country as the viceroy of Muḥammad Shāh II with the city of Rājahmandry as his headquarters.*

Ferishta's account does not fully agree with the evidence of the inscriptions and of Hindu literature. In the first place, he makes Hammīr a nephew (brother's son) of Kapilēśvara, whereas the inscriptions allude to him as Kapilēśvara's son. This may be explained away by assuming that though Hammīr was in fact a nephew of Kapilēśvara he referred to himself as his son following the well-known Hindu practice of addressing one's own paternal uncle as father. The other points on which Ferishta differs from the Hindu sources cannot be explained so easily. He introduces a Brahman Mangal Rāy as the adopted son and successor of Kapilēśvara; but the inscriptions and the *Sarasvatīvilāsam* of Pratāparudra Gajapati assert that Puruṣōttama Gajapati who was born to Kapilēśvara by his queen Pārvatī, ascended the throne after the death of his father.

Notwithstanding these differences, which may be attributed to the inaccurate sources of information, it must be admitted that Ferishta's account is substantially true. Kapilēśvara's territories in the Telugu country could not have passed into the hands of the Bahmanī Sulṭān immediately after his death, had there been no civil war between his two sons Hamvīra and Puruṣōttama, or Mangal Rāy as Ferishta calls him. This is in agreement with the view of M. M. Chakravarti who states, while commenting on one of Puruṣōttama's inscriptions at Jagannātha that "Puruṣōttama Dēva got on the throne after a civil war. In this inscription he hastens to propitiate by gifts the gods and their priests."†

The outbreak of the civil war between the sons of Kapilēśvara after his death threw the kingdom of Orissa into confusion, and this offered a splendid chance to the Rāya and his nobles to recover the lost territory. Though Virūpākṣa

* *Tarīkh-i-Ferishta*, p. 351.

† *J. A. S. B.* (1893) lxii, Part I, p. 92.

was too absorbed in the pursuit of pleasures to bestow any attention on the affairs of state, Sāḷuva Narasimha took full advantage of it, and made himself, as noticed already, the master of the entire east coast up to the Gōdāvarī.

Hamvīra who ascended the throne of Orissa in A. D. 1471 with the help of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī II was not able to keep himself in power. Purușōttama (Mangal Rāy) who was defeated by Niẓām-ul-Mulk Baḥry gradually gathered strength in the country, attacked Hamvīra, and overthrew him. According to the *Sarasvatīvilāsam*, Purușōttama forced his great foe Hamvīra to bow before his feet. The victory of Purușōttama over his rival was so complete that he was free from anxiety from his side during the rest of his reign. Having thus got rid of his domestic enemy, he felt that he was strong enough to make an attempt to reconquer the Kṛṣṇā-Gōdāvarī delta. An accident which happened in the fort of Kondavīr* gave him an opportunity to take the first step in this direction. The garrison which was stationed by Muḥammad Shāh mutinied, and murdered their governor. Then they surrendered the fort to an Uriya nobleman called Hamīr who was originally patronised by Muḥammad Shāh. Hamīr sent messengers to Kaṭaka to inform the king of Uriya that the proper time for the recovery of his hereditary dominions had come. He promised to join the king of Uriya provided that he was given a share in the country conquered from the Mussalmans. On receiving this information, the king of Uriya collected all his forces and advanced upon Rājahmandry. Niẓām-ul-Mulk Baḥry, being unable to oppose the Uriya army in the field, fled towards Wazīrābād leaving the garrison at Rājahmandry to defend the city as well as it could.† Purușōttama, the Uriya monarch, marched to the city and laid siege to it. Sāḷuva Narasimha was also present in the neighbourhood of

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* *Tārīkh-i-Ferishta* (Naval Kishore Press). p. 353. This is the name given by Ferishta. Though the name is similar to Koṇḍaviḍu which is usually written as Kondvīr in Persian histories, the identity of the place is not established. The situation of the place as described in Ferishta seems to point to a fort somewhere near Rājahmandry.

† *Ibid*, p. 353; *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, *I.A.* xxviii, p. 288.

Rājahmandry with a large army on this occasion, though the reason for his presence is not known.* Did he march to the neighbourhood of Rājahmandry to help Puruṣōttama Gajapati, or to safeguard his own interests? No definite answer is possible to this question in the present state of our knowledge. There is, however, reason to believe that Narasimha's activities were not confined to the region around Rājahmandry, but were far more comprehensive in their scope as they seem to have extended almost up to the frontiers of Gondwana. It is said in the Telugu *Varāhapurāṇam* that his general Īśvara Nāyaka captured Narakoṇḍa, a fort situated a few miles to the north of the Gōdāvarī in the estate of the Rāja of Bhadrācalam. Again, the *Jaiminibhāratam* alludes to Narasimha's capture of Bāladurgam which appears to be identical with Bālkoṇḍa in the Nizamabad district of the Hyderabad State. Though it is stated in one of the *kaifiyats* that Sāḷuva Narasimha was engaged in fighting on the banks of the Narmadā with the Muhammadans and the Gajapati, (87) the circumstances under which the campaign was undertaken, assuming for the nonce that the account of the *kaifiyat* is trustworthy, are not known. It is, however, possible that Sāḷuva Narasimha might have assisted Puruṣōttama in his attempts to recover the throne from Hamvīra, and he might have led his armies so far north in that connection.†

Whatever be the circumstances under which Sāḷuva Narasimha was present at Rājahmandry, he was not allowed

* *Ibid*, p. 288. The *Kaṭakarāja Vaṁśāvaḷi* states that Puruṣōttama demanded the daughter of the King of Kāñcī in marriage. His proposal, however was turned down. Puruṣōttama thereupon marched to Kāñcī at the head of his army, but being defeated was obliged to retreat pursued by the King of Kāñcī who chased him across the Gōdāvarī (94). If this were true, it would give a satisfactory explanation of Sāḷuva Narasimha's presence on the banks of the Gōdāvarī.

† The armies of Sāḷuva Narasimha and Puruṣōttama lay encamped on the western bank of the Gōdāvarī in the neighbourhood of Rājahmandry in A.D. 1477. "When they (Muḥammad Shāh and his army) arrived in the neighbourhood of the fort of Rājahmundry, they saw an immense city on the farther side of which the infidel Narsinga had taken his stand. On this side of the river, he had dug a ditch......" (*I.A.* xxviii, p. 288). Rājahmandry stands on the eastern bank of the Gōdāvarī, and Sāḷuva Narasimha's camp must have lain on the opposite (*i.e.*, the western) bank. Ferishta who also alludes to this expedition states: "On his (Muḥammad Shāh's) arrival near Rājahmundry the enemies deliberated with one another, and saw the inadvisability of the war. Therefore, Hamīr,

to remain there long. The activities of Puruṣōttama and Sāḷuva Narasimha in the Kṛṣṇā-Gōdāvarī doab was a direct challenge to Muḥammad Shāh's authority. As soon as he obtained intelligence of what had happened in the Telugu country, he hastened with all his forces to Rājahmandry. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of that city, the Hindus are said to have fled precipitately without giving the Sulṭān a chance to fight. Sāḷuva Narasimha abandoned his fortified camp and retired to the south; Puruṣōttama crossed the river Gōdāvarī, and retreated towards his dominions; and Hamīr, the Uriya, who was assisting him withdrew to the fort of Kandanīr. Muḥammad Shāh then laid siege to Rājahmandry, and reduced the garrison to extremities. The commander of the fort, having discovered that further resistance was useless, surrendered and he was enrolled among the Turki, Telangi and Habshi slaves of the Sulṭān.*

Muḥammad Shāh next marched into Orissa in order to punish Puruṣōttama for having invaded the Gōdāvarī delta and captured Rājahmandry. He is said to have devastated the country and slaughtered its inhabitants. Puruṣōttama purchased peace by surrendering twenty-five elephants of his father which he 'prized next to his life'. The Sulṭān next proceeded against Kandanīr and invested it closely for six months. Hamīr, the Uriya, who was very hard pressed, promised to surrender the fort, on condition that the Sulṭān pardoned him. The pardon was granted, and the fort capitulated. The

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the Uriya, retired to the fort of Kandanīr, where he was besieged. The Rāy of Orissa having crossed the river alighted on the bank of the river on the side of his country." (*Tārikh-i-Ferishta*, p. 354). It is obvious that the king of Orissa (*i.e.*, Puruṣōttama Gajapati) and his confederate Hamīr, the Uriya, were also encamped on the western bank of the river, *i.e.*, on the same side as Sāḷuva Narasimha. No information is available regarding the attitude of the Hindu armies towards each other. The account of the Muhammadan historians dimly indicates that they were friendly. Ferishta states that the Hindus deliberated with one another, and having seen the unwisdom of fighting near Rājahmandry dispersed. According to Sayyid 'Alī, 'when Narasimharāya heard of the arrival of the Sulṭān's army, thinking it advisable to avoid meeting their attack, he elected to take to flight." (*I.A.* xxviii, p. 288). It may be noted here that the plan of action which both the Gajapati and Sāḷuva Narasimha followed is the same. They were probably allies, and acted according to a plan which they had agreed previously to adopt.

* *I. A.* xxviii, p. 288.

Sulṭān, having successfully re-established his authority in the Gōdāvarī delta, remained at Rājahmandry for three years probably to organize the administration of the conquered territory.

The Sulṭān's raid upon Kāñcī.—Muḥammad Shāh next turned his attention to the South. The whole of the east coast to the south of the Kṛṣṇā was under the sway of Sāḷuva Narasimha who was governing it practically as an independent sovereign, though he still owed allegiance to Virūpākṣa II. Narasimha who was not well disposed towards Muḥammad Shāh caused him much annoyance by frequently exciting 'the zamindars on the Bahmanī frontier to rebel.'* Now that he had established his sway over a large part of the coastal Telugu country, Muḥammad Shāh resolved to conquer the remaining portion which was under Sāḷuva Narasimha. Having entrusted the government of the *tarfs* of Rājahmandry and Warangal to Niẓām-ul-Mulk Baḥry and A'ẓam Khān respectively, he marched towards the country of Narasimha. At first, he went to Koṇḍavīḍu, the people of which had recently rebelled against him, and had thrown themselves on Narasimha's protection. The Sulṭān subdued the place, and forgave the inhabitants who expressed regret for their past conduct. It was while staying at Koṇḍaviḍu that Muḥammad Shāh heard of the immense riches and booty of the temples of Conjeevaram. He immediately conceived the idea of attacking the city, and plundering its temples. With a select band of 6,000 troopers, the Sulṭān proceeded to the city by forced marches, and reached it on the 12th March A.D. 1481. The temples were plundered after some fighting and the Sulṭān carried away all the gold, jewels and silver.†

* Brigg's *Ferishta* ii, p. 499.

† *I.A.* xxviii, pp. 289–90. The route which Muḥammad Shāh took on this occasion has been the subject of controversy owing to doubt about the identity of Malūr ملور where according to one copy of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* he is said to have halted on his way. The name of the place is given as Telūr تلور in the recently published Hyderabad edition. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* correctly gives the name of the place as Nilawura نیلوارہ (Nellore) which stands on the direct route from Koṇḍavīdu to Conjeevaram (iii, p. 50).

Muḥammad Shāh, however, could not reach his capital safely with his rich booty; Sāḷuva Narasimha who seems to have been absent from this part of his dominions, despatched his general Īśvara Nāyaka, as soon as he heard of the happenings at Kāñcī, in pursuit of the Sulṭān. Īśvara intercepted the Muhammadan army at Kandukūr in the north of the Nellore district and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. He plundered their camp, and took back, it may be imagined, much of the booty which they were carrying away from Kāñcī.*

Muḥammad Shāh was naturally enraged at the unexpected manner in which his plundering raid had terminated. Therefore, he planned a double attack upon Narasimha's territory as soon as he returned to his army headquarters. In the first place, he resolved to lead personally an expedition against Masulipatam and its neighbourhood which were included at that time in the dominions of Narasimha. Secondly, Yusuf 'Ādil Khān and Fakr-ul-Mulk were despatched with an army of about 15,000 troops mostly consisting of foreigners against another part of his dominions, in order probably to distract attention, while the Sulṭān himself was engaged in the reduction of the maritime districts. According to Ferishta, our only authority on this subject, the Sulṭān reduced Masulipatam with all the dependent country and returned to Koṇḍapalli.† But he keeps a judicious silence over the achievements of the two officers whom the Sulṭān sent against Narasimha. The *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* alludes to the siege of Penugoṇḍa by the combined armies of a Sabara chief and the Turuṣka king. It is said that Narasimha, who paid a visit to a sage inhabiting the Kūṭuvācala proceeded from that place with his elephant forces (*nāgamaṇḍala*) to Penugoṇḍa, with the object of taking that fort. When he approached the fort, he was obstructed by the armies of the Sabara and Turuṣka kings. The *Varāhapurāṇam* mentions Penugoṇḍa as one of the places captured by Sāḷuva Narasimha's general Īśvara. The *Jaiminibhāratam* states that Narasimha

* *Sources*, pp. 89, 106; *K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 312-3.

† Brigg's *Ferishta* ii, p. 501.

destroyed the army of a certain Pikkiḷḷu (Fakr-ul-Mulk ?) and other enemies at Penugoṇḍa. The Muslim armies which according to these works laid siege to Penugoṇḍa have perhaps to be identified with the contingent which Muḥammad Shāh despatched under Yusuf 'Ādil Khān, and Fakr-ul-Mulk against Sāḷuva Narasimha. In that case, it must be said that though they penetrated into the very heart of the Vijayanagara kingdom, they were defeated and driven away.

The expeditions planned by Muḥammad Shāh against Sāḷuva Narasimha after his return from Kāñcī turned out to be the last which he was ever destined to undertake. He fell into a plot hatched by his nobles against his able minister Khwāja-i-Jahān Maḥmūd Gāwān, and ordered his execution on April 5, A.D. 1481, less than a month after his return from Kāñcī.* With the execution of Gāwān, Muḥammad Shāh's power rapidly waned; and he soon followed to the grave, the faithful minister whom he had unjustly put to death. The Sulṭān died at Bidar on March 26, A.D. 1482.

Important changes took place at Vijayanagara during the subsequent years. Virūpākṣa II continued to rule until the middle of A.D. 1485, when he was murdered by his eldest son. The parricide, however, refused to ascend the throne, as he deemed himself to be impure, on account of the heinous crime he had committed. At his instance, his younger brother Padearāo was crowned; but the new king turned out to be as unworthy as the old. His first act, after his coronation, was to get his elder brother, to whom he owed his crown, assassinated. Then he gave himself up to wine and women, and became utterly indifferent to the fate of the kingdom.

The conduct of the king roused the indignation of the nobles, specially Sāḷuva Narasimha who had done so much to defend the kingdom during the last two decades. He seems to have been convinced that unless the rule of the

* Brigg's *Ferishta* ii, p. 509.

old dynasty was put an end to, the condition of the kingdom could not be bettered. Therefore, he assumed royal titles, and commanded his general, Narasā Nāyaka to proceed against the capital and capture it. Though Padearāo was informed of the approach of Narasā Nāyaka's army, he remained indifferent without taking any steps to defend either himself or his capital. When at last he was told that Narasā Nāyakā entered the gate of the palace, he roused himself, and fled by the other gate. He seems to have taken refuge in a foreign kingdom, where he soon perished. Thus ended the dynasty of Harihara and Bukka after a rule of one hundred and fifty years.

CHAPTER XIV.

SĀḶUVA NARASIMHA.

The flight of Padearão from Vijayanagara left the jewelled-throne of the Rāyas vacant; and Sāḷuva Narasimha siezed the kingdom without much trouble. He brushed aside the old dynasty, and crowned himself king. Nuniz who lived in Vijayanagara within forty years of the event leaves no room for any doubt. "When it was known by the captain" says he, "that the King had fled, ... he sent to acquaint his lord, Narsymgua. And after that Narasymgua was raised to be king . . . . Thenceforward this kingdom of Bisnaga was called the kingdom of Narsymgua." * This is corroborated by the evidence of the inscriptions. Apart from the imperial titles that are coupled with his name in several of his records, the Cakenahaḷḷi plates of A.D. 1492 make the direct statement that Sāḷuva Narasimha ascended the throne of Vidyānagara.† That Narasimha usurped the throne of his master cannot be gainsaid; but if usurpation was ever justified by the conditions that necessitated it, it was in this case.‡

Sāḷuva Narasimha found that it was easier to capture the throne of Vijayanagara than to enforce his authority over the nobles of the kingdom, who were accustomed to govern their estates as independent chiefs during the anarchic confusion prevailing in the preceding reigns. The support of 'the captains and the chiefs of the kingdom' which enabled him to oust the old dynasty did not outlast the act of usurpation; for in attempting to enforce his authority he came into conflict with the nobles who regarded themselves as the virtual sovereigns of their estates. "He took the territories from whomsoever had, contrary to right, taken them from the king.........and he regained all the lands which the kings his predecessors had

* *Forgotten Empire*, p. 307.

† *M.A.R.* 1924, No. 111.

‡ *Contra* Sādhu Subrahmanya Sastri; *T.D.E.R.*, pp. 145-7.

lost."* The nobles whose rights to the lands they were holding he had thus questioned did not tamely submit to his authority. They took up arms in defence of their vested interests, and held out until they were compelled to surrender to superior military force. Therefore, Sāḷuva Narasimha was obliged to undertake the reconquest of the territory which nominally acknowledged his authority. Consequently, he was involved in petty warfare with his nobles which weakened his military strength considerably. Of the nobles who attempted to defy his authority, the Sambeṭa chiefs of Peranipāḍu and the *pāḷaigārs* of Ummattūr and its neighbourhood deserve particular attention.

The Sambeṭas:—The Sambeṭas were an important family of Kṣatriya chiefs who held *nāyankara* estates in the Gaṇḍi-kōṭa-*sīma*. The most important branch of this family established itself at Peranipāḍu in the Pulivendla taluk of the Cuddapah district. Sōmadēva and his son Pinnaya, two important chiefs of this family rose to prominence under Dēvarāya II. The former whom Dēvarāya II placed in charge of the fort of Koṇḍavīḍu about A.D. 1432 came into conflict with the Velamas, as noticed already; Anapōta II and his cousin Linga I are said to have vanquished Sōmadēva and Pinnaya respectively. Pinnaya had two sons. Gōparāja and Śivarāja; the former who was a subordinate of Mallikārjuna was ruling the family estate about A.D. 1460; † and he appears to have been succeeded by his brother. It was during the administration of Śivarāja that Sāḷuva Narasimha put an end to the rule of the Sangamas, and usurped the throne of Vijaya-nagara. Taking advantage of the prevailing confusion in the kingdom owing to the political changes in the capital, Śivarāja collected from the *sīmas* in the neighbourhood in defiance of the royal authority taxes which he appropriated for his own purposes. At the same time, one of his kinsmen, Sambeṭa Vīra Narasimha, rose up in rebellion, and according to the custom of the rebellious noblemen of the age, began to plunder

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* Nuniz: *Forgotten Empire*, p. 307.

† *L. R.* 18 (Jillēḷḷa), p. 34.

the neighbouring country side and waylay the merchants and the travellers passing along the highway. When the intelligence of the doings of the Sambeṭa chiefs reached Vijayanagara, Sāḷuva Narasimha despatched one of his courtiers, Vankara Kumāra Dhūḷi Basivi Nāyaḍu against Vīra Narasimha, and proceeded himself with an army against Śivarāja. Basivi Nāyaḍu arrived at Kāmalāpūr which he made his headquarters; thence he advanced upon Maddi Guṇḍāla where Vīra Narasimha was halting; after some fighting the followers of Vīra Narasimha yielded, and Maddi Guṇḍāla fell into the hands of Basivi Nāyaḍu. Vīra Narasimha fled towards Udayagiri. In the meanwhile Sāḷuva Narasimha reached Peranipāḍu and laid siege to the fort; Śivarāja offered resistance, but as the fortifications could not withstand a sustained artillery attack, the fort fell and Śivarāja perished with most of his followers at the hands of the enemy (79, 80).

Another nobleman who attempted to defy Sāḷuva Narasimha's authority was Sāḷuva Mallidēva, the chief of Bommavaram. His rebellion seems to have taken place at the time of Puruṣōttama Gajapati's attack upon Udayagiri. Narasimha made an attack upon Mallidēva, while he was on his way to Udayagiri to oppose the Gajapati invasion. He laid siege to Bommavaram, Mallidēva's capital, and quickly destroyed its fortifications by means of his artillery. The fort and the palaces were demolished, and the defenders were put to the sword. The inhabitants including women and children committed suicide by drowning themselves in a tank in front of the palace (82).

Sāḷuva Narasimha's authority does not appear to have been effectively established in the Kanarese country. The chiefs of Ummattūr and Sangītapura who held sway over the Mysore district and Tuḷu-*nāḍ* respectively did not acknowledge his suzerainty; and the princes of the old royal family who appear to have taken refuge on the west coast exercised some sort of control over Bārakūr and its neighbourhood.* The

* 391 of 1927; 278 of 1931–32.

efforts which Sāḷuva Narasimha made to subjugate these regions are not known, though he seems to have succeeded in imposing his authority over Bārakūr during the last years of his reign.*

It is evident that the difficulties which Sāḷuva Narasimha had to face in maintaining his power increased after his usurpation of the throne of the Rāyas, and consequently his capacity to offer successful resistance to the invaders from outside had somewhat decreased.

The Gajapati Invasion.—Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh II who disturbed the peace of the neighbouring kingdoms died in A.D. 1482, and he was succeeded by his son Maḥmūd II who was an imbecile. Taking advantage of Muḥammad's incapacity to rule, the nobles attempted to establish themselves in their respective estates, and were frequently engaged in petty warfare on their own account. The royal power consequently declined rapidly, and the Sulṭān was soon reduced to the position of a mere figurehead.

Notwithstanding the decline of the royal power and the disobedience of the nobles, Telingāṇa and the Gōdāvarī delta remained under the officers to whom Muḥammad Shāh II had entrusted their government up to A.D. 1486. At the time of the death of Muḥammad Shāh II, the 'Ādil Khān Deccani held the governorship of Warangal, and Qawām-ul-Mulk, the junior, was in charge of Rājahmandry. This arrangement remained in tact until the death of the 'Ādil Khān Deccani at Warangal in A.D. 1486. Thereupon, Kawām-ul-Mulk marched upon Warangal and occupied it without the permission of the king. Niẓām-ul-Mulk Baḥry who was the prime minister at the time, taking the Sulṭān with him, marched to Warangal to chastise Qawām-ul-Mulk. On hearing of the approach of the royal army, Qawām-ul-Mulk fled to Rājahmandry and Niẓām-ul-Mulk meeting with no opposition restored the Sulṭān's authority in Telingāṇa without difficulty.

* See Appendix at the end of the Chapter.

The history of Qawām-ul-Mulk, subsequent to his flight to Rājahmandry, is not known. Probably he held sway over the Gōdāvarī delta until he was expelled by Puruṣōttama Gajapati a month later.

The deplorable condition into which the affairs of the Bahmanī kingdom had sunk revived the hopes of Puruṣōttama Gajapati to recover the Gōdāvarī delta from the Mussalmans. He seems to have attacked Rājahmandry in A.D. 1487 or a little later. The history of this campaign is not recorded; but Puruṣōttama's inscriptions which are found in the Gōdāvarī valley and farther south show clearly that he had fully realised his ambition before A.D. 1489. A damaged copper-plate grant from the Gōdāvarī district dated in that year which records Puruṣōttama's gift of the village of Gaṇṭi to Brahmans shows that the Gōdāvarī valley had already passed into his hands.* He was not satisfied with the acquisition of this territory, but evidently resolved to recover all the southern conquests of his father. With this object in view, he appears to have crossed the Kṛṣṇā and invaded the Koṇḍavīḍu country. An epigraph at Koṇḍavīḍu dated A.D. 1489 records the king's edict abolishing the marriage tax which the people of the Eighteen Sects had to pay in Koṇḍavīḍu and Kaṇḍravāḍi and all other countries.† A copper-plate grant of A.D. 1489-90 records Puruṣōttama's gift of Pōtavaram in the Ammanabrōli-*sīma* to the temple of Lingōdbhava Mahādēva of Cadaluvāḍa on the bank of the Brahmaguṇḍī (Guṇḍlakammā).‡ It is evident from these records that before the middle of A.D. 1489, Puruṣōttama conquered the whole of the east coast as far south as the Guṇḍlakammā.

Conquest of Udayagiri.—Puruṣōttama's victorious campaign did not terminate with the subjugation of Koṇḍavīḍu and its dependent country. The capture of Udayagiri was indispensable for securing the safety of his southern frontier.

* *A.R.E.* 1900, Part ii, para. 65. † *L.R.* 42 (Koṇḍavīḍu), pp. 323-4.
‡ *E.I.* xiii, p. 155.

Therefore, he seems to have made an attack upon Udayagiri with the object of seizing it; but Sāḷuva Narasimha, notwithstanding the internal broils in his kingdom, hastened with an army from the capital to oppose the advance of the Uriya monarch. The result of this encounter is briefly described in the *Sarasvatī-vilāsam* of Pratāparudra Gajapati. According to this work, Puruṣōttama 'captured Narasimha, the king of the Karṇāṭakas alive and set him again at liberty as he humbly begged for his life' (89). The Anantavaram copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1500 gives more information about this incident. It states that 'Narasimha, the king of the Karṇāṭakas, trembling with fear, offered to Puruṣōttama the fort of Udayagiri, and begging protection, secured his own release' (88). These records make it clear that Sāḷuva Narasimha who came to defend the province of Udayagiri was defeated by Puruṣōttama in battle, and was taken prisoner. He purchased his freedom by surrendering to his captor the fort of Udayagiri with its dependent territory. The information furnished by these records is also supported by the evidence of Nuniz. Udayagiri was one of the three forts which rebelled against Sāḷuva Narasimha and which he could not retake owing to want of time.* It remained under the Uriyas until A.D. 1514, when Kṛṣṇarāya finally expelled them from the south of the Kṛṣṇā. Sāḷuva Narasimha did not long survive the loss of Udayagiri. His latest inscription is dated 14th October A.D. 1490† and the earliest of his son Immaḍi Narasimha is dated 28th November A.D. 1491.‡ Therefore, he must have died some time during the interval bequeathing his kingdom and throne to his successor.§

* *Forgotten Empire*, p. 308. † 269 of 1931-2.

‡ *Mac. Mss.* 15-4-30, p. 234.

§C. Hayavadana Rao's date (between March 18, 1497 and April 16, 1498—*Mys. Gaz.* II, p. 1717) for the death of Sāḷuva Narasimha cannot be accepted. The casual mention of his name in 719 of 1917 dated Ś. 1420 cannot be taken to mean that he was alive at that time; and Narasimha Mahārāya of that record, who is coupled with Narasanna Nāyaka, was most probably Sāḷuva Narasimha's son, Immaḍi Narasimha. The other record cited by H. Rao (*E. C.* iv, Hg. 74) is of no value as the Śaka year is 1400, and the date is not susceptible of verification as the astronomical details given in the record are not enough for this purpose. While more than twenty inscriptions bear testimony to the continuous rule of Immaḍi Narasimha from 1491 to 1497, not a single record clearly traceable to Sāḷuva Narasimha bears a date later than 1490.

Military Reforms of Sāḷuva Narasimha.—During the forty and odd years of his rule, at first as the governor of Candragiri and later as the king of Vijayanagara, Sāḷuva Narasimha frequently came into conflict with several enemies, specially the Muhammadans. He found that he could not always successfully oppose the Mussalman armies owing to the existence of certain defects in his military organisation. In the first place, his armies were weak in cavalry, an arm which contributed so much to the success of the Mussalmans. Secondly, the people from whom he recruited his troops lacked the proper military spirit which was very essential for success in the battle-field.

Therefore he endeavoured to remove these defects, and make his armies thoroughly efficient in war.*

To provide his armies with efficient cavalry he required good horses and capable riders. All the horses that were required for the armies and the court equipage were imported from Persia and Arabia, and the Arab merchants enjoyed a virtual monopoly in the horse trade at the time. Owing to the short-sighted policy of Virūpākṣa II, the Arab merchants were scared away from his dominions, and the kingdom lost the principal ports of Goa, Chaul and Dabul on the west coast. It was of utmost importance that Sāḷuva Narasimha should secure some ports in order to realise his ambition. Therefore, he organised an expedition of conquest, and subjugated the Tuḷu country (104). He established his garrisons at 'the sea-ports of Hoṇāvar, Bhaṭṭakkuḷa, Bākkanūru and Mangalapuram to which stations he imported from abroad, large numbers of horses. To induce the Arab merchants to bring the best horses to his ports, he offered them extravagant terms.

"He caused horses to be brought from Oromuz and Adeem into his kingdom, and thereby gave profit to the merchants, paying them for the horses just as they had asked.

* Nuniz: *Forgotten Empire*, p. 307.

He took them dead or alive at three for a thousand *pardaos*, and of those that died at sea, they brought him the tail only, and he paid for it just as if it had been alive."*

Sāḷuva Narasimha's services to the kingdom of Vijayanagara can hardly be over-estimated. It is true that he expelled the old dynasty and seized the throne; but that was rendered necessary by the exigencies of the situation in which he found the affairs of the kingdom. The last princes of the Sangama family demonstrated their utter incapacity to rule. The nobles became unruly and showed very little regard for the sovereign power; the Bahmanī Sulṭān and the Gajapati invaded the kingdom without opposition and appropriated some of the fairest districts. Sāḷuva Narasimha resolved to save the kingdom from its enemies, both internal and external. He expelled the Rāya, put down the nobles with a stern hand, and waged a life-long war upon the foreign foes. More than the insubordination of the nobles, more than the might of the Gajapati, he dreaded the all sweeping hordes of Islam. He wanted to prevent the Mussalmans from entering the kingdom of Vijayanagara, a land where the Hindu Dharma still flourished unconquered, and where the cows, the Brahmans and the Gods were still honoured. To secure this end he effected a revolution in the minds of his people; he transformed peace-loving farmers into a nation of warriors; (104) and bequeathed to them his newly organized cavalry—a weapon which contributed a great deal to the military greatness of Vijayanagara in the future

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* Nuniz: *Forgotten Empire*, p. 307.

APPENDIX.

The *Kērala Paḷama* which refers to Narasinga Rāya's conquest of the west coast is a Malayalam account of the dealings of the Portuguese with people of Malabar and Kanara on the west coast, written very probably in the 17th century. This work while describing the arrival of an ambassador of Narasinga Rāya to the Portuguese governor Almeida, gives a short account of the affairs of kingdom of Narasinga, in the course of which it casually alludes to Narasinga Rāya's conquest of the west coast. (104).

It is necessary to establish the identity of this Narasinga Rāya, as it has an important bearing upon the subject under consideration. As Almeida did not arrive at the west coast before September A. D. 1505 (*The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, p. 105), Narasinga Rāya who sent him an envoy must be either Immaḍi Narasimha or what is more likely, the *de facto* sovereign Vīra Narasimha; but there is reason to believe that the west coast was conquered much earlier. This region came under Sāḷuva Narasimha during the very last years of his reign, and it appears to have remained under his successors ever since without a break, as seen from the following schedule :—

SCHEDULE.

269 of 1931-32—Chauḷikēri.	Oct. 14, 1490	King: Sāḷuva Narasimha. Governor of Bārakūru-*rājya*: Hamparasa Oḍeya.
591 of 1929-30—Handadi.	May 11, 1492	King: Immaḍi Narasimha. Governor of Bārakūru: Honnakaḷaśarāya Mahārāya, son of Triyambakarāya.
386 of 1927—Kotesvar.	Oct. 21, 1492	Vīrapratāpa Honnakaḷasa Mahārāya.
E.C. VI, Mg. 54—Kaḷasa.	Jan. 27, 1493	King: Immaḍi Narasimha. Governor of Kalasa: Vīra Bhairarasa Oḍeyar.
,, Mg. 50—Kaḷasa.	May 14, 1493	King: Immaḍi Narasimha. Sub: Vīra Bahairarasa Oḍeya.
270 of 1931-32—Chauḷikēri.	Jan. 6, 1494	King: Tammarāya. Governor of Bārakūru: Honnakaḷaśarāya in the time of Gavurappa Daṇṇāyaka.
511 of 1928-29—Giliyara.	July 3, 1498	King: Immaḍi Narasimharāya. Governor of Bārakūru: Sādāraṇadēva Oḍeya makes a grant for the merit of Narasaṇṇa Nāyaka.
166 of 1901—Manigarakeri	July 9, 1499	King: Immaḍi Narasimha. Governor of Bārakūru: Sādhāraṇadēva Oḍeya.
152 of 1901—Chauḷikēri.	? Jan. 14, 1502	King: Vīra Narasimharāya. Governor of Bārakūru: Basavarasa Oḍeya.
423 of 1927-28—Basrūr.	Oct. 20, 1507	King: Narasingadēvarāya. Governor of Bārakūru: Basavarasa Oḍeya.
541 of 1929-30—Bandar.	Oct. 25, 1508	King: Immaḍi Bhujabala Narasimhadēvarāya Mahārāya. Governor of Bārakūru: Basavarasa Oḍeya.
410 of 1927-28—Basrūr.	Jan. 14 1510	King: Bhujangabala Narasimharāya. Governor of Bārakūru: Mallappa Nāyaka.

As the inscriptions included in the schedule indicate the continuance of the authority of the Sāḷuva and the Tuḷuva kings over the west coast from A. D. 1490 to 1510 the subjugation by Narasinga Rāya must have taken place earlier. In that case, Narasinga Rāya who conquered the west coast, as mentioned in the *Kērala Paḷama*, must be identified with Sāḷuva Narasimha.

CHAPTER XV.

IMMADI NARASIMHA.

The events of the reign of Immaḍi Narasimha are still hidden in obscurity; and most of the problems demand reconsideration in the light of the fresh material that has accumulated in recent years. The first problem that deserves examination is the position of Narasā Nāyaka in the government of the kingdom. According to Nuniz who came to Vijayanagara some thirty years later, Sāḷuva Narasimha left, at the time of his death, 'two sons who were not old enough to govern the kingdom.' He summoned his minister, Narasā Nāyaka, to his bed-side and 'begged him to keep guard over the kingdom and to deliver it up to the princes, to whichever of them should prove himself most fitted for it.' In obedience to the commands of his late master, Narasā Nāyaka is said to have raised the elder prince 'to be king' retaining in his own hands, in his capacity as the guardian of the king and the kingdom, 'the treasures and revenues and the government of the country.' After the assassination of this prince through the machinations of Tymarsaa, Narasā Nāyaka 'raised up' the murdered prince's younger brother called Tamarão who was very young 'to be king'*

It is evident from this that Sāḷuva Narasimha appointed Narasā Nāyaka as the protector of his young sons and of the kingdom after his death, and that Narasa set up at first the elder and after his death the younger of his late master's sons upon the throne, keeping, however, the substance of power in his own hands. The evidence of Ferishta and the inscriptions corroborates the account of Nuniz; but recently some scholars have called into question parts of Nuniz's narrative. They have expressed the opinion that Immaḍi Narasimha (Tamarão of Nuniz) could not have been young at the time of his

* Nuniz; *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 308-9.

accession. On the authority of two Mysore epigraphs,* Sewell has asserted that Immaḍi Narasimha who had a grown up son in A. D. 1493 could not have been a child at that time.† Sādhu Subrahmanya Sastri strengthens Sewell's view by adducing what appears to be definite evidence. He alludes to an inscription at Tirupati dated A.D. 1473, in which Sāḷuva Narasimha and three other persons Kumāra Narasayyan, Periya Tangama and Cikka Tangama are mentioned,‡ and he believes that Kumāra Narasayyan of the inscription is identical with Immaḍi Narasimha. He is, therefore, of opinion that Immaḍi Narasimha was 'almost 30 years' old at the time of his father's death 'and it is possible that he was still older."§

Now, the evidence on which these statements are based is not quite trustworthy. In the first place, the Mysore inscriptions from which Sewell has drawn his inference do not mention Immaḍi Narasimha's son Dēvapparāya. They register the gift of Saḷavaya or Surreyavi Dyāvappa Nāyaka, the son of Immaḍirāya. The chiefs mentioned in these records are the rebellious chiefs of Ummattūr who attempted to assert their independence. They assumed Vijayanagara titles¶ about A. D. 1491‖ in defiance of royal authority. Sewell was evidently deceived by the name Immaḍirāya, a name by which Immaḍi Narasimha is never mentioned in the inscriptions,—coupled with the royal and Sāḷuva titles such as *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara*, *Medinīmīsaragaṇḍa*, *Kaṭhāri Sāḷuva*, *Sāḷuva* and *Mahārāya* $

* *E.C.* ix, Db. 42, 45.

† *J.A.R.S.* 1915, p. 387.

‡ *T.D.E.R.*, p. 142.

§ *Ibid*, p. 147.

¶ Cf. *E.C.* III, Nj. 118 ; IV. Gu. 2 and Intro. p. 27.

‖ Rice : *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 155.

$ It was also customary with some of the friendly subordinates of Sāḷuva Narasimha to assume the Sāḷuva titles, though they were not Sāḷuvas by birth. The Tuḷuva princes *e.g.* assumed Sāḷuva titles even before they rose to royal power, though they had no connection with the Sāḷuva family. The practice was begun by Narasa when, after the death of Sāḷuva Narasimha, he became virtual master of the empire. The assumption of the Sāḷuva titles raises the doubt whether the idea of the usurpation of the royal throne had not already taken shape in Narasa's mind.

Secondly, it is not possible to draw any definite conclusion from the data furnished by the Tirupati inscription. It consists of two different records both registering certain gifts made by Sāḷuva Narasimha for offerings to the deity on some specified occasions. The first is dated Ś.S. 1395 Vijaya Mithuna śu. 6, Tues. Śatabhiṣak (June 2, A.D. 1473), when the *sthānattār* are said to have executed a *śilāśāsanam* in favour of *M. M. Mēdinī-mīsara-gaṇḍa Kaṭhāri-Sāḷuva* Sāḷuva Narasimharāya Uḍaiyār. This *śilāśāsanam* concluded with the following sentences. "In the above manner are the said stipulations drawn up by the temple accountant Tiruninṟa-ūr-uḍaiyān with the assent of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. May these the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas protect." The second record which appears to be a supplement to the above bears no date; and it was probably added to the first some time later, when, it cannot be ascertained. It opens thus: "From the income realised from the said Domaṟapaṭṭi only shall be offered 4 *appa-paḍai* at the rate of one at each *maṇṭapam* . . . in the name of yourself, in the name of Kumāra Narasayyan, and in the names of Cikka Tangaman and Periya Tangaman." *

These epigraphs do not enable us to understand how Sāḷuva Narasimha was related to Kumāra Narasayyan and others. Therefore, the identification of Kumāra Narasayyan with Immaḍi Narasimha cannot be taken as established.† Granting for the nonce, that such an identification is not impossible, the supplementary inscription does not help us in determining Immaḍi Narasimha's age, as it is not dated. Therefore, there is no justification for doubting the trustworthy character of Nuniz's account. On the contrary, there is reason

* *T.T.D.E. Series* ii, pp. 89-99.

† There is reason to believe that Kumāra Narasayyan mentioned in the inscription is the eldest son of Narasā Nāyaka who later assumed the name of Vīra Narasimha; for the *Varāhapurāṇam* which was composed while Sāḷuva Narasimha was still ruling at Candragiri and dedicated to Narasā Nāyaka mentions that the latter's dear son Narasayya' was in attendance on his father in the durbar (కూర్మితనయుండు నరసయ్య గుణనిధాన మంతికంబున సేవింప 1: 11). He might have been the Kumāra Narasayyan of the Tirupati epigraph.

for believing that the narrative describes genuine historical events.

A study of the inscriptions of the period shows that Narasā Nāyaka was the *de facto* sovereign of the kingdom. He was associated with the king in the administration; he was called 'the protector' (*rakṣākarta*)* and 'lord' (*svāmi*).† He was the *sēnādhipati*‡, *mahāpradhāna*§, and *kāryakarta*¶ of the king and he ruled the kingdom of the world on behalf of the king‖, and kings bowed to his feet.$ Narasā Nāyaka assumed the royal and Sāḷuva titles. In an inscription of A.D. 1497 he is referred to as king Nṛsimha, son of Īśvara and Bukkāmbā; the Sāḷuva title *Kaṭhāri-Sāḷuva* is coupled with his name. He is said to have 'ruled over the vast earth standing under a single umbrella causing admiration to people'.| In another record dated A.D. 1502 the royal titles such as *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *bhāṣege-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa*, *arirāya-vibhāḍa*, *rājādhirāja* and *rājaparamēśvara* are attributed to him.** It is evident from this that Narasā Nāyaka's position in the state was equal to that of the king. If Immaḍi Narasimha was a grown up man nearly thirty years old, having sons old enough to be the governors of districts at the beginning of his reign, it is inconceivable, unless he happened to be an imbecile incapable of managing his own affairs, how he could have retired into the background allowing his general to usurp his power. There is nothing to show that he was an imbecile. What little evidence there is on the subject goes to show that he was restive under Narasā Nāyaka's guardianship, and made unsuccessful attempts to overthrow his authority. Nuniz, who must have obtained his information from the contemporaries of Immaḍi Narasimha, states that he and his elder brother were boys at the time of their father's death, and were placed under the guardianship

* *E.C.* V, Cn. 259.
† *A.R.E.* 664 of 1909; 445 of 1913.
‡ *E.C.* V. Cn. 259.
§ *E.C.* III, Pt. 1, My. 33.
¶ 511 of 1928-29; *E.C.* IX, Cn. 52.
‖ *Ibid*, 386 of 1904.
$ *M.A.R.* 1916, para. 102.
| *M.A.R.* 1928, No. 44.
** *E.C.* III, Nj. 88.

of Narasā Nāyaka. This being in agreement with the evidence of the inscriptions, may be accepted as the truth.

Immaḍi Narasimha and Narasā Nāyaka:—Immaḍi Narasimha owed his elevation to the throne to an accident. His elder brother, Timmabhūpāla whom Narasā Nāyaka* first placed upon the throne on the death of their father was assassinated by one of his own attendants at the instigation of Narasā Nāyaka's rival Tymarsaa†, and Narasā Nāyaka in order to establish his own innocence placed Immaḍi Narasimha upon the throne.

Immaḍi Narasimha was not content to remain a mere figure-head allowing the kingdom to be governed by the all powerful protector. He manifested signs of discontent with his subordinate position from the beginning. When Narasā Nāyaka demanded from his retreat at Penugoṇḍa that his rival

* *Adayar Library Bulletin*, I. iii, pp. 91–2. A commentary on Gangēśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi* called *Tattvavārttika* is ascribed to Sāḷuva Timmabhūpāla. 'The introductory verses, after *Mangaḷa*, describe the parentage and prowess of the author, Timmabhūpāla. First is mentioned King Kuṇḍa of Sāḷuva-*kula*: "*Alankariṣṇuḥ kila Sāḷuv=ēndra-kulaṁ guṇī Kuṇḍa iti kṣitīndraḥ*". His son was Sāḷuva Narasimha whose wife was Tippāmbikā. To these two was born Sāḷuva Timma, who is described as *yuvarāja*.' The colophon runs thus: *Iti Śrīman=Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vīra-vēśyā-bhujanga Sāḷuva Narasimha-nandana Śrī Timmabhūpālīyē.*

† Ferishta alludes, in describing the history of Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr, to the death of a prince (*rāy zāda*) of Vijayanagara who accompanied the *de facto* ruler Timrāj in his campaign against Bijāpūr as a consequence of the wounds received in a battle near Bijāpūr. The battle took place in the month of Rajab A.H. 898 (April A.D. 1493). On the authority of this statement, the prince who died of wounds near Rāichūr has been identified with the elder brother of Immaḍi Narasimha; and as he died of wounds received in the battle-field, it is pointed out, that he could not have met with his death at the hands of the assassin; (S. K. Aiyangar: *The Little Known Chapter*, pp. 59–64) but Ferishta is such a dubious historian that no definite inference can be drawn from his statements. According to him, Timrāj was the *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1493. The name of the *de facto* ruler, we know, was not Timrāj but Narasā Nāyaka. Again, the death of the *rāy zāda* is said to have taken place as a consequence of the wounds received in a battle which was fought in April A.D. 1493; but Immaḍi Narasimha who is believed to be the successor of this prince was ruling as the king of Vijayanagara at least from May 1492 (591 of 1929-30). Moreover, later historians such as Khāfī Khān and Zabīri who also describe this campaign do not mention the prince or his death in this connection. Therefore, it is hazarduous to attempt to discredit the evidence of Nuniz by citing Ferishta.

Tymarsaa who was really responsible for the murder of Immaḍi Narasimha's elder brother, Timmabhūpāla, should be punished, he remained silent. "The king (Immaḍi Narasimha) at that time was very fond of that captain (Tymarsaa), since by reason of him, he had become King, and in place of punishing him, he bestowed favour on him, and took his part against the minister".* The disagreement between the king and Narasā Nāyaka is also noticed in the *Kaifiyat of Rāmēśvaram* "While this Sāḷuva Narasimharāya was reigning, Narasā Nāyaka who was governing the kingdom was dismissed from his office, and Nadinḍḷa Timmarasayya (a Brahman) of the Āruvēla caste was appointed minister (*pradhāni*) in his place"† (91). Therefore Immaḍi Narasimha seems to have made a serious effort to get rid of Narasā Nāyaka; but he was not destined to succeed. Narasā Nāyaka did not allow himself to be trifled with. He 'made ready large forces' and marching against Vijayanagara laid siege to the city. Immaḍi Narasimha was forced to sue for peace. He commanded that Tymarsaa should be put to death and that his head should be taken to Narasā Nāyaka to appease his anger. His orders were carried out; and Narasā Nāyaka entered the city triumphantly. His authority was established more firmly than ever.

Immaḍi Narasimha seems to have caused continuous anxiety to Narasā Nāyaka, as he grew into manhood.

* Nuniz: *Forgotten Empire*, p. 309.

† Nādinḍla Timmarasayya who was appointed as the minister in the place of Narasā Nāyaka may seem, at first sight, to be identical with 'Tymarsaa' mentioned by Nuniz. Tempting as the possibility of such an identification is, it must be rejected, until more explicit proofs are available. Sāḷuva Timmarasa who was a trusted minister of Narasā Nāyaka, Vira Narasimha and Kṛṣṇadēvarāya; and Nādinḍla Appa and Gōpa who held offices of great trust and influence under Kṛṣṇadēvarāya were his son-in-law and sons respectively. It is very doubtful whether Narasā Nāyaka and his sons would have employed the sons and son-in-law of the arch-enemy of their family, if, indeed, Nādinḍla Timmarasa were identical with 'Tymarsaa', of Nuniz. It seems more reasonable to suppose that they were different. 'Tymarsaa', the minister of Immaḍi Narasimha mentioned by Nuniz, may be provisionally identified with a minister of that name at whose instance Immaḍi Narasimha granted some land in the village Mallela in the Kurnool district, to God Cennakēśava of Cāngalamarri on Ś. S. 1413 Virōdhikṛt, Mārgaśira ba. 12 (28. Nov., A.D. 1491) (*Mac. Mss.* 15-4-30, p. 234).

Anticipating trouble from his activities, Narasā Nāyaka, under the pretence of securing his safety, kept him under custody in the fort of Penugoṇḍa, granting him an allowance of 20,000 *cruzados* annually for his maintenance. Immaḍi Narasimha seems to have welcomed his removal to Penugoṇḍa, as he expected that he would there be free from the surveillance of his guardian; but Narasā Nāyaka took good care to place him beyond the reach of mischief. He posted one of his trustworthy officers, Timmapa Nāyaka with an army of 20,000 men to keep guard over him effectively "(commanding him) that he should not allow the King to leave the city, and that he should carefully guard his person against treachery."*

Though Narasā Nāyaka did not secure the removal of his inconvenient ward by assassination, as was once believed, he cannot be completely exculpated from the charge of usurpation. He rebelled against his master and compelled him to submit to his superior force; he kept him under custody and granted him an annual pension for his maintenance. Though he carried on the administration generally in the name of his master, he did not hesitate to assume the royal titles when he chose.† The inscriptions of his sons state, as a matter of fact, that he ruled at Vijayanagara as king. In a copper-plate grant of Vīra Narasimha dated A.D. 1505 it is said explicitly that Narasa born of king Īśvara "was ruling the whole kingdom" "in Vidyānagarī formerly made by Vidyāraṇya, seated on the jewelled-throne." ‡ This is corroborated by the evidence of contemporary writers. Nandi Timmana states that 'King Narasa, son of Īśvara was seated on the jewelled-throne of Vijayanagara which was like a mirror unto the face of the goddess of earth.' § According to Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima, Narasā Nāyaka 'made Vidyāpurī his capital.'¶ Similar statements are found in other writers. There is ample evidence to show that Narasā Nāyaka did, indeed, usurp the throne of his master. Therefore, the second usurpation must

* Nuniz: *Forgotten Empire*, p. 310. † *Ante*, p. 152.
‡ *E.C.* x, Gd. 77. § *Sources*, p. 107. ¶ *Ibid*, p. 108.

have taken place during his time and not in the time of his son Vīra Narasimha as is generally held at present.

Narasā Nāyaka's achievements:—The mantle of Sāḷuva Narasimha descended on the worthy shoulders of Narasā Nāyaka. Sāḷuva Narasimha set before himself the task of resuscitating the fallen fortunes of the Vijayanagara kingdom. Owing to the weakness of the last rulers of the Sangama dynasty, the affairs of the government had fallen into chaos. The Nāyakas and the other subordinate chiefs who held sway over the provinces of the kingdom defied the authority of the central government; and foreign enemies having swooped over the outlying districts wrested them from the feeble hands of the Rāya. The kingdom of Vijayanagara appeared to be on the brink of dissolution. Sāḷuva Narasimha came forward to arrest the progress of disintegration and to infuse fresh vigour into the palsied limbs of the body politic. He expelled the old dynasty from Vijayanagara and occupied the throne; he subdued the recalcitrant chiefs who asserted independence during the feeble administration of his predecessors; but before he could completely restore the kingdom to its former glory, he passed away. Sāḷuva Narasimha died with the regret that nature had not given him time to fulfil the task which he had undertaken. Therefore, he besought his successors to capture the forts of 'Rachol and Odegary and Conadolgi' with their dependent territories which he could not subdue, 'because time failed him.'*

During the twelve or thirteen years of his rule as virtual sovereign of Vijayanagara, Narasā Nāyaka made strenuous efforts to recover the lost forts which his late master's testament had enjoined him to subdue; but his attempts were no more successful than those of his master. His failure is partly attributable to internal troubles which seem to have threatened to plunge the kingdom again into the chaos from which Sāḷuva Narasimha had rescued it. Therefore, he was

* Nuniz: *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 308, 316.

never free to concentrate all his energy on the reconquest of the lost territory, a task which he was obliged to leave to be accomplished by his more fortunate sons.

The achievements of Narasā Nāyaka are described in the inscriptions of his sons. He crossed 'the Kāvērī, when in full flood, and seizing his enemy alive, taking possession of his kingdom, and making Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa his own, he set up the pillar of his fame, and won the praise of the three worlds. Conquering Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya, and Mānabhūṣa, the king of Madhura as well as the fierce Turuṣka, the Gajapati king and others, from Gangā to Lankā, and the eastern to the western mountains, he imposed his commands on all kings." * The contemporary writers not only confirm the evidence of the inscriptions, but supplement it with some more valuable information. Nandi Timmana, the earliest of these writers describes Narasā Nāyaka's victories briefly. Naraśa, the son of Īśvara, manifested his skill by capturing Vidyāpura (Vijayanagara) so as to cause distress to the king of Kuntala; he destroyed the unbearable prowess of the Persian (Muhammadan) in the district of Mānavadurga †; gave (the taste of) the sweet lips of the heavenly damsels (*i.e.* killed) to the lord of the Cōḷa country and captured the city of Madhura and exhibited his swordsmanship before the Hēyaṇēndra. Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima gives a similar account. According to him, Nṛsimha (Narasā Nāyaka) captured the fort called Mānava together with its Śaka ruler, but he restored it to him thereby

* *E.C.* viii, Nr. 64.
Kāvērīm āśu baddhvā bahuḷa-jala-bharām yō vilanghy=aiva śatrūn
Jīva grāham gṛhītvā samiti bhuja-balāt tam ca rājyam tadīyam
Kṛtvā Śrīranga-pūrvam tad api nija-vaśē paṭṭaṇam yō babhāsē
Kīrti-stambham nikhāya tri-bhuvana-bhavana stūyamān=āpadānaḥ.
Cēram Cōḷam ca Pāṇḍyam tam api ca Madhurā-vallabham Mānabhūṣam
Vīryōdagram Turuṣkam Gajapati-nṛpatim c=āpi jitvā tad=anyān
Ā-Gangā-tīra Lankā-prathama-carama-bhūbhṛt-taṭāntam nitāntam
Khyātaḥ kṣōṇīpatīnām srajam-iva śirasā śāsanam yō vyatānīt.

† The translation on p. 106 of the *Sources* does not bring out the sense of the text quite correctly.

manifesting his prowess as well as liberality. He built a bridge across the waters of the Kāvērī, and captured Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam. He destroyed the arrogant Marava in battle and captured Madhura. He vanquished Konēṭirāja who fell on him with his herd of elephants and married the damsel of victory on the field of battle." *

Tirumalāmbā describes the same events more elaborately. Narasa began his victorious career by conquering at first the eastern quarter; then he turned south and marching along the coast of the eastern sea through Tuṇḍīra, he reached the Cōḷa country. As the Cōḷa ruler was oppressing the people of the territory given to him as his appanage, Narasa made up his mind to punish him. He crossed the Kāvērī, and halted on the southern bank of the river to give rest to his army. Having learnt from his spies that the Cōḷa ruler was preparing for war, Narasa sent envoys to his court calling on him to submit, but the Cōḷa mistaking this to be a sign of weakness insulted the envoys and turned them out of his court. Then he marched at the head of his army supported by a strong contingent of elephants, and offered Narasa battle. He was, however, defeated in the fight and taken prisoner. Narasā Nāyaka then entered the Cōḷa's capital; whence the Cōḷa, who was a Marava by birth, escaped (from prison and fled?) to the sea-coast, abandoning his wealth and relations. Narasa next proceeded to the city of Madhura, and having received valuable presents from the ruler of the place he went to Rāmēśvaram by way of Sētu. Next, he turned against Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam, and spanning the river Kāvērī, which was swollen with floods, by a temporary bridge, he crossed over to the island and reduced the fort without much difficulty. He forgave the chief who surrendered himself with all his ministers, relations and friends and restored to him his estate. Then turning to the west, he captured the forts of Dumakāra and Taraśangi and reached the sacred shrine of Gōkarṇa on the west coast where he made several gifts. Finally,

* *Sources*, p. 109.

Narasa turned towards the north, and advanced upon Suratrāṇa Sapāda (the 'Ādil Shāh), who shut himself up in the fort of Mānava. Narasa laid siege to the fort and defeated the Sulṭān; but he restored the fort to the Sulṭān and returned to his capital Vidyāpurī.*

The following schedule presents a comparative account of the victories of Narasā Nāyaka, as described in the inscriptions and other contemporary works:—

Inscriptions.	*Pārijātāpaharaṇam.*	*Acyutarāyābhyudayam.*	*Varadāmbikāpariṇayam.*
1. Captured Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam by building a bridge across the Kāvērī.	1. Captured Vidyāpura so as to cause embarassment to the king of Kuntala. 1a. Defeated the Hēuṇa † chief at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam.	1. Built a bridge across the Kāvērī and captured Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam.	1. Built a bridge across the Kāvērī and captured Srīrangapaṭṭaṇam.
2. Conquered the Cēra.	2.	2.	2.
3. Conquered the Cōḷa.	3. Killed the Cōḷa and (see 5).	3. Killed the Marava and (see 5).	3. Defeated the Cōḷa king, captured him and entered his capital; but the Cōḷa (a Marava) fled.
4. Conquered the Pāṇḍya.	4.	4.	4.
5. Conquered Mānabhūṣa of Madhura	5. Captured Madhura	5. Captured Madhura	5. Received gifts from the ruler of Madhura.
6. Conquered the Turuṣka.	6. Destroyed the power of the Pārasīka in the disrict of Mānava.	6. Captured Mānavadurga together with the king of the Śakas. He restored the fort to the Śaka king.	6. Defeated Suratrāṇa Sapāda at Mānavadurga.
7. Conquered the Gajapati.	7. ...	7.	7. Conquered the eastern quarter, and probably fought with the kings of Gauḍa, Kaḷinga and Trilinga.
8. ...	8.	8. Defeated Konēṭirāja.	8.
9. ...	9.	9.	9. Captured the forts of Damakāra and Taraśangi.

* *Sources*, pp. 172-75.

† In the ms. preserved in the Mysore Govt. Or. Mss. Library we have Hoyasanēndra instead of Hēuṇēndra. Our thanks are due to Śrī R. Anantakrishna Śarma who consulted the ms. on our request and furnished us with the information.

It is clear from this that Narasā Nāyaka captured Vidyānagara causing distress to the king of Kuntala; conquered the Cēra, the Cōḷa, the Pāṇḍya, Mānabhūṣa of Madhura, the Gajapati and Kōnēṭirāja; took Madhura, Damakāra and Taraśangi; built a bridge across the Kāvērī, inflicted a defeat upon the Hēuṇa (Hoysaṇa) chief and wrested from him Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa; laid siege to the fort of Mānava, and took the 'Ādil Khān a prisoner. Though so much information is available, it is not possible to understand the sequence of events in the absence of a chronological framework; but 'the means of arranging' the abundant details in a chronological order are not entirely lacking. The inscriptions and the Muhammadan histories provide us with valuable data which are helpful in fixing the chronological order of Narasā Nāyaka's victories in a fairly satisfactory manner. It must be stated at the outset that the Tuḷuva inscriptions and the literary works mentioned above describe only the victories which Narasa won after he became the regent. The events connected with his early career are not touched upon. Therefore, in arranging the chronology of Narasa's wars, it is not necessary to consider the events of his early history.

(1) The earliest of Narasā Nāyaka's exploits appears to have been his capture of Vidyāpurī, *i.e.*, Vidyānagara. It is said that by this act he caused distress to the king of Kuntala or Vidyānagara. The circumstances under which he laid siege to Vijayanagara and forced Immaḍi Narasimha to submit have been explained already. This event must have taken place at the commencement of Immaḍi Narasimha's reign. Narasā Nāyaka is said to have retired to Penugoṇḍa some time after raising Immaḍi Narasimha to the throne. Having gathered large forces, he attempted at first to settle his differences with the king by peaceful negotiation; but when the king remained indifferent to his advances, he marched upon the capital and invested it. All these events must have taken at least one year. As Immaḍi Narasimha's reign seems to have commenced some time before Nov. A.D. 1491, Narasā Nāyaka's

investment of Vijayanagara may be placed about the end of A.D. 1492. This derives support from a casual statement of Ferishta, who says that some months before his victory over Timrāj in April A.D. 1493 Yusuf 'Ādil Khān heard at first that dissensions prevailed at Vijayanagara. While he was marching after this against Rāichūr he heard once again, probably in January A.D. 1493, that Timrāj 'composed his disputes with young Ray of Beejanuggur.'* We may conclude from this that Narasā Nāyaka's investment and capture of Vijayanagara took place towards the close of A.D. 1492.

(2) Narasā Nāyaka's encounter with the 'Ādil Khān and his capture of Mānavadurga (Manvi in Raichore Dt.) seem to have happened immediately after his capture of Vijayanagara. Ferishta alludes to two occasions, when Yusuf 'Ādil Khān came into conflict with the regent of Vijayanagara in A.H. 898 (A.D. 1492-93). The circumstances under which these conflicts took place are thus described by Ferishta. Yusuf 'Adil Khān declared independence in A.D. 1489 and established a kingdom in Bijāpūr. Qāsim Barīd Turk who entertained similar hopes instigated 'the Ray of Beejanuggur' offering him the forts of Rāichūr and Mudkal as an inducement; similar proposals were made to Bahādur Gīlāny, the ruler of Konkan, to attack the 'Ādil Khān. Both these people made a simultaneous attack upon the 'Ādil Khān: "Timraj, the general of the Ray of Beejanuggur, having crossed the river Toongabudra, laid waste the country as far as Moodkul and Rachore; and Bahadur Geelany reduced the fortress of Jumkindy." The 'Ādil Khān was not in a position to oppose both the invaders. Therefore, he 'made peace with Timraj and expelled Bahadur Geelany from his dominions.†'

Yusuf 'Ādil Khān, however, bided his time; he had secured a victory over Qāsim Barīd with the help of Malik Aḥmad Baḥry, "and then, on learning that dissensions

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, p. 11.

† *Ibid*, p. 10.

prevailed in Beejanuggur, he marched to retake Rachore."* On reaching the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, the 'Ādil Khān was obliged to halt, as he fell seriously ill. Meanwhile 'Timraj, the minister, having composed his disputes with the young Ray of Beejanuggur, advanced at the head of an army to Rachore."† The 'Adil Khān recovered from his illness, and opposed Timrāj who, having crossed the Tungabhadrā, was marching upon Bijāpūr in April A.D. 1493; the 'Ādil Khān's forces were defeated in battle, and he was obliged to retire to his camp; but obtaining information that Timrāj's army was 'busily engaged in plunder,' he collected his scattered men, and made a sudden attack upon the Hindu camp. Timrāj who was completely taken by surprise was utterly routed. He fled towards Vijayanagara accompanied by the young Rāya, who, however, died on the way, owing to the arrow-wounds received in the battle.‡ According to Dastūr Khān, however, the 'Ādil Khān won his victory by the basest treachery. Having been defeated in battle, the 'Ādil Khān entreated Timrāj to grant him peace. He invited the young Rāya, and Timrāj to a peace conference promising that he would pay allegiance to the Rāya on the occasion. Timrāj agreed to the proposal, and attended the conference with the king and the nobles. The 'Ādil Khān treacherously attacked them and put to death seventy persons of rank. Thereupon, the Hindu army fled and the 'Ādil Khān obtained victory.§

The information furnished by Ferishta does not offer much help in fixing the date of Narasā Nāyaka's victory over the 'Ādil Khān, as its accuracy is not above suspicion. There was no person at Vijayanagara corresponding to Ferishta's Timrāj. His personality is protean in character. Ferishta gives two contradictory accounts of the manner in which he rose to power:

First, "the government of Beejanuggur had remained in one family in uninterrupted succession for seven hundred

* *Ibid*, p. 11. † *Ibid*, iii, p. 11.
‡ *Ibid*, pp. 12-13. § *Ibid*, p. 13,

years, when Shew Ray dying, he was succeeded by his son a minor, who did not long survive him, and left the throne to a younger brother. Not long after, he died also, leaving an infant only three months old. Timrāj, one of the principal ministers of the family, celebrated for his wisdom and experience, became sole regent, and was cheerfully obeyed by the nobility and vassals of the kingdom for forty years. On the occasion of the young King's attaining the age of manhood, Timraj poisoned him and put an infant of the family on the throne, in order to have the pretence for retaining the regency in his hands. Timraj at length dying, was succeeded in his office by his son Ramraj."*

The second, "Timraj was the first usurper: he had poisoned the young Raja of Beejanuggur, son of Shew Ray, had rendered his infant brother the tool of his designs, and, by degrees, overthrowing the ancient nobles, he at length established his authority over the kingdom."†

Though these two accounts do not agree with each other regarding the manner of Timrāj's rise to power, they have this in common that he was a minister of Shew Ray who seized the supreme power some time after his master's demise. After making himself supreme in the state, he waged war, as noticed already, upon Yusuf 'Ādil K͟hān twice in A.D. 1493, when the young Rāya is said to have perished as a consequence of wounds received in the battle.‡ Later, Timrāj invaded once again the Bijāpūr territory in A.D. 1512, taking advantage of the confusion caused by the regent Kamāl K͟hān, and captured the fort of Rāichūr.§ He held power for forty years, and died probably in (1493 + 40) A.D. 1533, and was succeeded by his son Rāmrāj.¶ This Rāmrāj, it may be noted, was the same prince who was slain by the confederacy of the Deccani Mussalman kings on the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi in A.D. 1564

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, pp. 80-81. † *Ibid*, p. 35.
‡ *Ibid*, pp. 10-13. § *Ibid*, p. 44. ¶ *Ibid*, p. 81.

Though there were some ministers and generals bearing the name of Timmarasa or Timmarāja at Vijayanagara about this time, it is not possible to identify Ferishta's Timrāj with any one of them as most facts mentioned in connection with his career cannot be satisfactorily explained with reference to them. Thus, there was a *pradhāni* Timmarasa who figures in one of the earliest inscriptions of Immaḍi Narasimha.* He is probably identical with Tymarsaa, who attempted to oust Narasā Nāyaka from his office as regent; but he was killed about A.D. 1492,† and therefore, the exploits of Ferishta's Timrāj cannot be attributed to him. There was Nādinḍla Timmarasa who is said to have displaced Narasā Nāyaka as the minister of Immaḍi Narasimha (92); but he was not a military officer and there is no evidence to show that he lived after A. D. 1495 or 1496. Lastly, there was Āreviṭi Rāmarāju Timmarāju who is said to have defeated the 'Ādil Khān at Mānuva; but Timmarāju was not a minister of Immaḍi Narasimha or any other king. He rose only to the position of a *kāryakarta* to Kṛṣṇarāya and Acyuta, and he was alive at least until A.D. 1542. None of the persons mentioned above could have been the father of Rāmrāj, as he was born of Śrīrangarāja, a grandson of Āreviṭi Bukka. The identification of Ferishta's Timrāj with Narasā Nāyaka who was the minister of Sāḷuva Narasimha (Shew Rāy) and who after his death became supreme as the regent of the kingdom is also not possible; for Narasā Nāyaka died in A. D. 1503, and therefore, he could not have captured Rāichūr from Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh in A. D. 1512; neither did he live up to A. D. 1533, nor beget a son of the name of Rāmrāj. It must, therefore, be concluded that Ferishta's Timrāj is an imaginary person whom his ill-equipped but fertile imagination conjured up to confound posterity.

Nevertheless, some of the deeds ascribed by Ferishta to Timrāj can only be explained with reference to the history of Narasā Nāyaka; for instance, he is said to have poisoned the

* *Mac. Mss.* 15-4-30, p. 234.

† *Forgotten Empire*, p. 309.

eldest son of Shew Rāy, 'rendered his infant brother a tool of his designs' and 'established his authority over the kingdom' by making himself the 'sole regent' about A. D. 1493. All these actions are attributed by Nuniz to Narasā Nāyaka, and his statements are confirmed by inscriptions, contemporary literature, and the *kaifiyats* or local histories. Therefore, the account of Ferishta seems to contain, notwithstanding its contradictions and fictitious incidents, some elements of truth; and the events of the early career of his Timrāj may be attributed to Narasā Nāyaka. Therefore, *he* seems to have been the person that led the two expeditions against Yusuf 'Ādil Khān in A. D. 1493.

We may now consider when Narasā Nāyaka besieged the 'Ādil Khān in the fort of Mānava. This event could not have taken place during Narasa's first encounter with the 'Ādil Khān; for, on this occasion Timrāj (Narasā Nāyaka), having crossed the Tungabhadrā laid waste the country and captured the forts of Mudkal and Rāichūr; and the 'Ādil Khān being unable to resist concluded a treaty with him. It is not possible that the 'Ādil Khān could have come to Mānavadurga (Mānvi) which is in the neighbourhood of Ādōni on the north of the Tungabhadrā. Therefore, the siege of Mānava must have taken place during the second encounter. On this occasion, the 'Ādil Khān was the aggressor. He invaded the Vijayanagara kingdom to retake Rāichūr; on hearing that Timrāj (Narasā Nāyaka) was marching upon his capital Bijāpūr, he advanced from his camp on the Kṛṣṇā to oppose him; he was, however, defeated and forced to retire from the field. The siege of Mānava must have taken place on this occasion; for, the *Varadāmbikā-pariṇayam* states that the 'Ādil Khān, on seeing the army of Narasā Nāyaka, climbed the (hill) fort of Mānava in fear, in order to protect his life; but Narasa laid siege to the fort; and he was assisted by Ārevīṭi Rāmarāja Timma and other officers. The Muhammadans are said to have opposed the besiegers fiercely. The fort was, however, captured, and the 'Ādil Khān was taken prisoner. It is said that Narasā Nāyaka set the

'Ādil Khān at liberty and displayed his generosity by restoring the captured fort to him. Mānava must have been an important stronghold commanding the road to Rāichūr and Mudkal. By handing over the fort to the 'Ādil Khān, Narasā Nāyaka seems to have deliberately unbolted the doors to let in the flood of Mussalman invasions. The cession of the fort could not have been actuated by feelings of generosity. Narasā Nāyaka was probably compelled to abandon the fort which he had captured. It was very probably here that the 'Ādil Khān, as narrated by Dastūr Khān, invited Timrāj and the Rāy, for a peace conference*, and attacked them treacherously.† Narasā Nāyaka was obliged to seek safety in flight abandoning the fort. The writers patronised by the court, naturally seek to conceal this ugly fact of humiliation.

(3) *Southern conquests*:—Narasā Nāyaka's southern expedition may be taken up for consideration next. The causes of this invasion are not far to seek. The country to the south of the Kāvērī shook off the yoke of Vijayanagara after the southern expedition of Kapilēśvara Gajapati in A.D. 1464. No attempt had been made ever since to reduce it to subjection once again. Sāḷuva Narasimha appears to have been too busy with affairs nearer home to undertake the reconquest of the southern provinces. The available epigraphical material clearly shows that his authority was not acknowledged in the south of the Kāvērī. Narasā Nāyaka, who desired to complete the work of his late master marched at the head of his army to the south.

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* Ferishta states that the Rāya died of wounds received in the fight on his way to Vijayanagara; but in other contexts he attributes the death of all the sons of Shew Rāy either to natural causes or poison administered by Timrāj (Narasā Nāyaka). Dastūr Khān whom Ferishta quotes does not allude to the death of the Rāy. Khāfī Khān and Zabīrī who cite Ferishta's history in this context do not refer to the death of the Rāy We know from inscriptions that Immaḍi Narasimha who ascended the throne in A.D. 1491 continued to rule until A.D. 1505 proving thereby that no king of Vijayanagara, could have died in A. D. 1493. Therefore, Ferishta's statement must not be considered true.

† Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, p. 13.

The date:—The date of Narasā Nāyaka's expedition against the southern districts can be fixed with tolerable certainty. The inscriptions of Immaḍi Narasimha in Madura and Ramnad districts appear in a series beginning with Ś. 1421 Siddhārthi (A. D. 1499).* The conquest of this region, however, seems to have taken place at least some three years earlier. In an inscription of Rāmāpuram in Anantapur district dated March 18, A. D. 1497, it is stated that Immaḍi Kācapa Nāyaka, son of Kācapa Nāyaka of Ādavāni had gone to Sētubandha-Rāmēśvaram with Narasā Nāyaka†. Now, the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* places his visit to Sētubandha-Rāmēśvaram at the end of his southern campaign. Therefore, the campaign must have preceded the date of the inscription alluding to his visit to Rāmēśvaram. It very probaly commenced in A. D. 1496, if not a little earlier.

Incidents of the campaign.—During the course of this campaign, Narasā Nāyaka is said to have conquered the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Cēra, besides Mānabhūṣa of Madhura and a certain Kōnēṭirāja. An examination of the information furnished by our sources is necessary for understanding the events of the campaign in their proper setting.

i. The Cōḷa may be taken up at first for consideration. The first observation that has to be made about him is that he was not a scion of the ancient Cōḷa family; he belonged to the Marava caste. The *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* refers to him as *maruvapaka*;‡ and the *Acyutarāyābhyudayam* supports it.§ Secondly, his authority was confined only to a part of the Cōḷa country in the south of the Kāvērī; it is said in the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* that Narasā Nāyaka had to cross the Kāvērī and await the arrival of the Cōḷa.¶ But a part of the Pāṇḍya country with the city of Madhura seems to have been

* 89 of 1908. † 719 of 1917.

‡ See *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam Ms*, p. 45.

§ *Madapravṛttam Māravam mathitvā mahī mahīndrō Madhurām ahārṣīt*: *Sources*, p. 109.

¶ *Sources*, p. 170.

included in his dominions; for the *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* asserts that Narasā Nāyaka captured Madhura, having slain the Cōḷa king*; and the *Acyutarāyābhyudayam* states that he, having despatched the Marava to the world of Indra in a battle, captured the city of Madhura.† It may, therefore, be concluded that a Marava chief was called Cōḷa because he was ruling the Cōḷa country, and that the city of Madhura was included in his dominions.‡

There is some difference of opinion among our authorities regarding the ultimate fate of the Cōḷa ruler. The *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* and the *Acyutarāyābhyudayam* assert unequivocally that Narasā Nāyaka killed him; but according to the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam*, he was captured alive, but later escaped to an island in the sea.§ It is said in an inscription of Narasā Nāyaka dated 12th Aug. A.D. 1497 that he 'swallowed' the Cōḷa king'¶, an expression which may be taken to support the view that the Cōḷa king was slain in battle.

As the fall of Madhura was closely connected with the war against the Cōḷa, the identity of Mānabhūṣa, the lord of Madhura, may be appropriately considered in this context. The term Mānabhūṣa is a title meaning 'he who has honour (*māna*) as his ornament.' He is said to have been identical with the Tenkāśi Pāṇḍyan king, Arikēsari Parākrama who bore the titles of *Mānakavaca* and *Mānabhūṣaṇa*,‖ though the available evidence points to the contrary. The verse '*Cēram Cōḷam ca Pāṇḍyam tam api ca Madhurāvallabham Mānabhūṣam*, makes it clear that Mānabhūṣa was neither a Cōḷa, nor Cēra nor a Pāṇḍya but some one other than these three. A stronger objection against this identification is the disparity in time. Whereas Arikēsari

* *Ibid*, p. 107.

† *Ibid*, p. 109.

‡ The names Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya were attributed to the rulers of the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries irrespective of the caste or family to which they belonged. The Brahman Sāḷuva Narasingarāya Daṇṇāyaka is spoken of in the *Acyutarāyābhyudayam* as a Cōḷa. The Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura are frequently called Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas respectively though they were Balijas of Telugu nationality by birth.

§ *Sources*, p. 171.

¶ *M.A.R.* 1928, No. 44: *Cuḷikikṛta-Cōḷēndram*.

‖ *T.A.S.* i, pp. 52-3.

Parākrama's reign closed with A.D. 1462—a time when even Sāḷuva Narasimha was almost unknown—Narasā Nāyaka's attack upon Madhura did not take place before A.D. 1495. Therefore, the suggested identification of Mānabhūṣa, the lord of Madhura, with Arikēsari Parākrama must be rejected. For the present, he has to be considered as an unknown chief who was holding Madhura as a subordinate of the Cōḷa.

Narasā Nāyaka's claims of victory over the Cōḷa king and the lord of Madhura are supported by the provenance of the Vijayanagara inscriptions. Several inscriptions of the subordinates of Immḍi Narasimha are found in the Pudukkottah state and Madura and Ramnad districts. It may be concluded from this that the country from the Kāvērī to Sētubandha-Rāmēśvaram was thoroughly subdued.

ii. The Cēra king whom Narasā Nāyaka is said to have vanquished must have been one of the princes of Kēraḷa. Albuquerque alludes in his *Commentaries* to an attack of the king of Vijayanagara upon the kingdom of Quilon, a few years before A. D. 1500. The Vijayanagara army seems to have made an unsuccessful attempt to capture the port Kāyal in the Tinnevelly district which was a dependency of Quilon at that time. "The king of Caulão (Quilon)," says Albuquerque "was a very honest man, and very gallant, and in the war which he carried on with the king of Narsinga, who had many soldiers, with horse and foot, he attacked him with sixty thousand archers and overcame him."* Taking the time of this attack together with the presence of Immaḍi Narasimha's inscriptions in Madura and Ramnad districts into consideration, the king of Narsinga who waged war with the ruler of Quilon must be identified with Narasā Nāyaka. In that case, his claim of victory over the Cēra must be considered a vain boast.

iii. It is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to identify the Pāṇḍya whom Narasā Nāyaka is said to

* *Commentaries Of The Great Afonso Dalbuquerque*: Pt. 1, p. 11.

have defeated as Madhura ceased to be a seat of the Pāṇḍyan power, the authority of the Pāṇḍyas was "restricted to their more southern possessions in the Tinnevelly district."* Therefore, Narasā Nāyaka's Pāṇḍyan opponent must have been one of the rulers of Tenkāśi, probably Parākrama *alias* Kulaśēkhara who ruled from A.D. 1479 to 1499.†

iv. *Kōnēṭirāja*:—Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima alludes to the victory of Narasā Nāyaka over a chief called Kōnēṭirāja—the hero unrivalled in the world—who caused confusion to the army of the enemies. He attacked Narasa with his elephant forces; but was defeated by him in battle and taken prisoner.‡ Kōnēṭirāja was not the title of a Pāṇḍyan prince as has been suggested by A. Rangaswami Sarasvati but the personal name of one of the Vijayanagara officers who appears to have held sway over portions of the present Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts from A. D. 1488 to 1492.§ He was a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, bore the titles of *Rāya-Basavaśankara*, *Rājarājagaṇḍa*, *Paṭṭukaṭṭāri*, and *Kāñcīpuravarādhīśvara*. Probably he or his father governed a part of Paḍaivīḍu-*rājya* with Kāñcī as his capital. As there is no allusion to the ruling king of Vijayanagara in any one of his records, it is doubtful whether he was amicably disposed towards his sovereign. It is probably permissible to infer from Narasā Nāyaka's hostility towards him that he did not recognise the authority of the regent. Besides, other reasons were not wanting to afford Narasa a very good pretext forwar It is said in the *Kōyiloḷugu* that Kōnēṭirāja who succeeded Sāḷuva Tirumalarāja as the governor of Tiruccināpalli-*sīma* oppressed the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of Śrīrangam, and that they requested Narasā Nāyaka to punish him.

"At this time Kōṇērirāja, who succeeded Sāḷuva Tirumalairāja in the government of the Trichinopoly district (*sīma*)

* *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 247. † *Ibid*, p. 249. ‡ *Sources*, p. 109.

§ 259 of 1911; 74 of 1913; 396 of 1918; 54 of 1920; 49 of 1920; 51 of 1920. The first of these inscriptions is referred to in an inconclusive discussion of Kōnēṭirāja's identity on p. 171, *n.* of the *Sources*, but its clue is not followed up.

favoured the people of the Tiruvāṇaikkāval, gave away the temple villages to Kōṭṭai-sāmantan Seṉṉappa Nāyaka, extracted *puravari*, *kāṇikkai*, *paṭṭu*, *parivaṭṭam* and such other taxes and caused much annoyance to the temple authorities at Śrīrangam. When the matter was repeatedly reported by Kandāḍai Rāmānuja to Narasā Nāyaka, the latter came with a large army, put down Kōṉērirāja and took away the charge of the district from his hands. Narasa then got back to the temple those villages which it had been dispossessed of, remitted the newly imposed taxes, and removed all the grievances of the people."* (cf. 95-a).

The causes of Narasā Nāyaka's war upon Kōnēṭirāja are now clear. He had been hearing of the oppressive character of Kōnēṭirāja's administration for some time in the past; and he took the earliest opportunity to put down his tyranny.

The *Kōyiloḻugu* assigns Narasā's victory over Kōnēṭirāja to Ś. 1411 (A. D. 1489-90) but this date is too early; for according to this work, Kōnēṭirāja's authority came to an end with Narasā's victory, whereas his rule lasted at least until A. D. 1492-3, as shown by his inscriptions. Therefore it is evident that Kōnēṭirāja must have been deprived of his office and power some time subsequent to A. D. 1492-3, probably during Narasā Nāyaka's southern expedition in A. D. 1496.

(4) *Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam.*—Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam appears to have been the capital of a small principality in the Mysore country comprising portions of Coimbatore and Mysore districts. A family of chiefs called Hēuṇa†, or Hoysaṇa who became prominent a little later at Ummattūr and Śivanasamudra held sway over this territory. They claimed descent from the Gangas and attempted to rule their principality independently. Though Vīra Nañjarāya and Dēvappa, sons of Immaḍirāya succeeded in preserving their independence for a while, they were forced to submit to Narasā Nāyaka finally. On his return from his southern expedition, Narasā Nāyaka marched

* *I. A.* xl, p. 142. † *Sources*, p. 107.

along the upper Kāvērī valley and approached Śrīranga-paṭṭaṇam; but as the river was in full flood, an attack upon the fort seemed almost impossible. Nevertheless, he managed to cross the river by means of a bridge which he hastily constructed and reduced the fort without difficulty; but he found it expedient to restore the fort with the dependent territory to its master whom he had taken prisoner in the battle. The fall of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam and the imprisonment of its chief by Narasā Nāyaka are alluded to in the *Konkaṇadēsarājula-vṛttāntam* (97). The subjugation of the Hēuṇa chiefs is also attested by epigraphical evidence. According to an epigraph of Sōmanāthapūr in the Mysore district dated A.D. 1497, by the order of Narasimha, son of Īśvara whose feet were bowed to by the kings, Nañjabhūpati or Nañjarāja Voḍeyar restored the *agrahāra* of Sōmanāthapura.* It is, therefore, evident that Narasā Nāyaka took the fort of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam either in A.D. 1497 itself or in the preceding year.

(5) *The Gajapati.*—Two Gajapati kings, Purusōttama and Pratāparudra, ruled at Kaṭaka, during the regency of Narasā Nāyaka. Purusōttama who had been reigning from A.D. 1465 died in A. D. 1496, after a reign of thirty years and he was succeeded by his son, Pratāparudra. The character of this monarch has been grossly misunderstood. It is said that he was 'cowardly' and that he neglected to safeguard the interests of his kingdom owing to his preoccupation with religion.† Moreover, his failure to conquer the east coast during the early years of his reign is attributed to his indolence. "From 1497 to 1511 Pratāparudra could have easily conquered the Tamil districts of the coast land, if he had only exerted himself." ‡ Pratāparudra was not a coward; and his failure to subdue 'the Tamil districts of the coast land' was not due either to his religious preoccupation or to the inherent inertia of his character. As a matter of fact, the early years of Pratāparudra's reign were eventful years, when he attempted, not

* *M. A. R.* 1916, para. 102.

† R. D. Banerjee; *The History of Orissa* I, p. 322. ‡ *Ibid.*

without success, to extend the boundaries of his kingdom. Though his father had recovered a large part of his kingdom from his enemies, a portion of Telingāṇa still remained unconquered. The fort of Warangal with its dependent territory, which Hamvīra ceded to the Bahmanī Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh II, as part of the price for his support against Puruṣōttama, still remained in the hands of Mussalmans. It had been made the seat of a Bahmanī viceroyalty; but later, when Qūly Quṭb-ul-Mulk established his supremacy over Telingāṇa in A.D. 1497 "the towns of Warangal and Kōvilkoṇḍa with their dependencies" passed into his hands.* Pratāparudra wanted to recover this territory. Moreover, he seems to have entertained an idea of conquering the South. It is stated in the Anantavaram copper-plate grant that he reached the banks of the Kṛṣṇā on Thursday, 4th November A.D. 1500 during the course of 'his expedition for the conquest of the South' (93). No further information is available regarding this expedition. Probably it was an attack upon the Vijayanagara kingdom. Or was it intended to ward off an invasion of the king of Vijayanagara? Whatever might have been the cause of the expedition, it is certain that there was a conflict between the Gajapati and Narasā Nāyaka. Though Narasā is said to have vanquished the Gajapati and thereby acquired the title of *Gajapati-rāy=ēbha-gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa*'†, his success could not have amounted to much; for the Gajapati still remained the master of the Telugu districts of the east coast to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, and the boundaries of both the kingdoms remained unchanged as they were at the time of Sāḷuva Narasimha's death.

Pratāparudra's attempt to reduce Telingāṇa however was more successful. There is reason to believe that the reconquest of Telingāṇa by Cittāpa Khān (Sītāpati) was effected at his instance. It is stated in the pillar inscription in the fort of Warangal dated January 21, A.D. 1504 that some time before that

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* *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*: *I. A.* xxviii, p. 315.

† *E. C.* x, Gd. 77; also cf. *Sources*, p. 173, *Varadambikāpariṇayam*: *Gauḍa Kalinga Trilinga mukhya pārthivānām atyāhita=c=chalam-āhava kṛtyamudāhṛtya.*

date Cittāpa Khān had captured the forts of Rājādri and Warangal.* Now, this Cittāpa Khān was of obscure origin and there is no reason to believe that he inherited any power from his father. It would not have been possible for an adventurer of Cittāpa Khān's type to reduce such an impregnable fort as Rājādri without the assistance of some powerful ally. According to a copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1510–11 Pratāparudra was ruling at Undrakoṇḍa in southern Telingāṇa†. Moreover, Cittāpa Khān figures in the *Rāyavācaka* as a subordinate of Pratāparudra in A.D. 1514,‡ and this is confirmed by the evidence of the Anonymous Historian of Gōlkoṇḍa who alludes to his dependence upon Rāmacandra, the son of Pratāparudra Gajapati.§ Therefore, it is not unlikely that Cittāpa Khān received help from Pratāparudra, when he marched to the banks of the Kṛṣṇā for the conquest of the South. It may be said with justice that during the early years of his reign, Pratāparudra complēted the reconquest of his ancestral dominions, a task which was left incomplete by his father.

(7) *The West Coast* :—According to the *Varadāmbikā-pariṇayam* Narasā Nāyaka is said to have marched towards the west coast, capturing on his way the forts of Damakāra, Taraśangi and other forts and reached the sacred shrine of Gōkarṇa, where he gave the *tulāpuruṣa* and other gifts¶. Damakāra has been identified with Tumkūr in the Mysore state, though Taraśangi still remains unidentified. It is not possible in the present state of our knowledge, to describe the circumstances under which Narasā Nāyaka conquered these forts.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, the chronology of Narasā Nāyaka's campaigns may be arranged as follows :—

1. The capture of Vidyānagara ... A. D. 1492
2. War with the 'Ādil Khān and the capture of Mānavadurga ... „ 1493

* 108 of 1902; also *H. A. S.* No. 9, pp. 22-3. † A.-12 of 1920-21.
‡ *Sources* : p. 124; see also *Kṛṣṇarāyavijayam* : *Sources*, p. 132.
§ Briggs : *Ferishta* iii, pp. 361-2. ¶ *Sources*, p. 174.

3.	The southern expedition—the war with Cōḷa, Mānabhūṣa, Cēra, Pāṇḍya and Kōnēṭirāja ...	A. D.	1496
4.	The capture of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam and march to Gōkarṇa ...	„	1496-7
5.	The war with the Gajapati ...	„	1500

The twelve or thirteen years during which Narasā Nāyaka controlled the destinies of the Vijayanagara kingdom were eventful. He continued the work of Sāḷuva Narasimha, and restored the ancient boundaries of the kingdom by reducing to subjection all the rebellious chiefs who asserted independence during the days of the last Sangama kings. He found the state in a convalescent condition, imparted fresh strength to it, and left it fully vigorous pulsating with new life. Narasa died in A. D. 1503, bequeathing the king and the kingdom to his eldest son, Vīra Narasimha.

CHAPTER XVI.

IMMAḌI NARASIMHA AND VĪRA NARASIMHA.

After the death of Narasā Nāyaka, his eldest son, Immaḍi Narasā Nāyaka or Vīra Narasimha, as he was more generally known, succeeded him as the regent. The lawful sovereign, Immaḍi Narasimha, was still kept under tutelage, though he must have been old enough to look after his own affairs. The new regent carried on the administration of the kingdom for a short time in the name of his master*; but he seems to have soon grown tired of the show, and got rid of his inconvenient ward by means of assassination. The *Vīrappaya's Kālajñāna* briefly states that "Vīra Narasimharāya, son of Narasā Nāyaka, having caused Tammarāya to be assassinated, ruled from the year Raktākṣi for five years" † (16). Nuniz who wrote his chronicle some thirty years later also alludes to Tamarāo's (Immaḍi Narasimha's) assassination, though he wrongly attributes the perpetration of the deed to Narasā Nāyaka.

Vīrappaya Kālajñāna, as noticed already, places the assassination of Immaḍi Narasimha in the year Raktākṣi which corresponds to A.D. 1504 March—1505 March. It is interesting to note that the latest records which can be definitely attributed to Immaḍi Narasimha is dated in Feb. 1505.‡ Curiously enough definite indications of the for-

* Inscriptions show that Vīra Narasimha continued for a short time the arrangement under which the kingdom was governed during the days of his father. Nearly a dozen inscriptions dated in the years 1504 and 1505 refer to Immaḍi Narasimha as the king ruling the country (*E.C.* x, G. 38, xii, *Mi.* 59; *E. I.* vii. pp. 74f; 412 of 1913; 359 of 1912; 396 of 1912 and 354 of 1912). It is reasonable to conclude that Immaḍi Narasimha still remained the nominal ruler of the kingdom.

† A Mysore epigraph, which is unfortunately damaged (*E.C.* x, Mb. 242) records that some people of the Mulavāgila-*nāḍu* made a gift evidently to a temple in Ś. 1427 Krōdhana to enable Narasinga Mahārāya and Narasinga Nāyaka to attain Uttama (lōka) or the highest heaven. The evidence of this inscription cannot be pressed far, as the text '*Narasinga Mahārāyarige Narasinga Nāyakarige Uttama......vāga bēk-endu*' can be, and in fact, has been, otherwise restored.

‡ 396 of 1912; also 354 of 1912.

mal assumption of royalty by Vīra Narasimha are found in an inscription from Nagaragare in Mysore dated Ś. 1427 Krōdhana, Nabhas, Pūrṇima Śravaṇa, Ārkivāsara (A. D. 1505). In the first place, the regular *praśasti* of the Tuḷuva kings tracing their descent from Brahma, Atri and the Moon through Purūrava and Nahuṣa down to Vīra Narasimha makes its appearance for the first time.* Secondly, the typical Vijayanagara royal titles are attached to the name of Vīra Narasimha. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Vīra Narasimha, having got rid of his lawful master, proclaimed himself the king of Vijayanagara. After a shadowy reign of nearly fourteen years, Immaḍi Narasimha fell a victim to the overmastering ambition of his perfidious guardian. With him ended the rule of the Sāḷuva kings at Vijayanagara.

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* *E. C.* x, Gd. 77.

CHAPTER XVII.

VĪRA NARASIMHA.

Vīra Narasimha is said to have ruled for five years from Raktākṣi (1505 A.D.) to the month of Vaiśākha of the year Śukla (May 1509) (16). During his short reign, he had to face many difficulties, and was always engaged in war with some enemy or other. His usurpation of the throne evoked much opposition, and the whole kingdom is said to have 'revolted under its captains.'* To complicate matters further, Yusuf 'Ādil Khān, who had always been lying in wait for a suitable opportunity to seize the Vijayanagara territory, invaded the kingdom (100, 101).

Ever since his perfidious attack upon Narasā Nāyaka, Yusuf 'Ādil Khān had been attempting to make himself master of the Rāichūr Doab, and by a favourable turn of events his attempts appear to have been crowned with success. Though Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī II had not the power, much less the capacity, to make his authority respected by his nobles, his zeal for the spread of the True Faith kept him busy planning *jihāds* against the infidels. He proposed in A.D. 1501, to his assembled nobles at Bīdar that they should attend the court once a year to wage a holy war against the idolators of Vijayanagara. As they had nothing to lose but everything to gain, the nobles readily agreed to the proposal of the monarch.† The first fruit of the compact of Bīdar, as this agreement was called, was borne in A.D. 1502, when all the *amīrs* of the Bahmanī kingdom had joined the Sulṭān and invaded the Rāichūr Doab by way of Karhāḍ. The efforts, if any, which Narasā Nāyaka made to protect the invaded territory are not known. Maḥmūd Shāh II subjugated the doab, and having entrusted it together with the forts of Rāichūr and Mudkal to Yusuf 'Ādil Khān retired to his capital.‡ Ferishta

* Nuniz : *Forgotten Empire*, p. 314. † *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* : *I.A.* xxviii, p. 361.

‡ *Ibid.* The Anonymous Historian ; Briggs' *Ferishta* III, p. 348.

ignores, for some unknown reason, the part played by the Bahmanī Sulṭān and his *amīrs* in the conquest of the doab. Yusuf 'Ādil Khān became, as a consequence of this war, master of the territory up to the banks of the Tungabhadrā.

The acquisition of new territory seems to have whetted the 'Ādil Khān's appetite for more, and the political upheaval in the Vijayanagara kingdom consequent upon the usurpation of the throne by Vīra Narasimha excited his ambition. The time was suitable for an invasion. He seems to have entered into an alliance with Kāca or Kāsappa Uḍaya, the governor of the important fort of Ādōni*, and crossing the Tungabhadrā at the head of a large army laid siege to the fort of Kandanavōlu.

Although most of the nobles set their faces against Vīra Narasimha, some stood by him and supported him steadfastly. Of these the Āravīḍu chiefs Rāmarāja and his son Timma deserve particular mention, as it was by their help that Vīra Narasimha was able to expel the invader, and suppress the internal troubles to some extent. At the time of 'Ādil Khān's attack, Rāmarāja and his son are said to have been in the fort. The details of the siege and the circumstances under which the 'Ādil Khān was forced to retire from the fort without accomplishing his object are not recorded. It is simply stated in the *Bālabhāgavatam* that Rāmarāja, having opposed the 'Ādil Khān (Savā) in battle, scattered his forces and put him to flight (101).

Rāma and Timma took full advantage of the victory, and pursued the 'Ādil Khān's army. Their object was probably

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* According to the passage,

Sahasrais=saptatyā sahitam-api yas-Simdhujanuṣām
Sapādasy=ānīkam-samiti bhuja śauryēṇa mahatā
Vijity-ādattē sm=Ādavani-giridurgam vibhutayā
Vidhūt-ēndrah Kāsapp-uḍayam-api vidrāvya sahasā.

which appears in the copper-plate charters of all the Ārevīṭi kings, Kāsappa Uḍaya was in close league with the Sapāda or the 'Adil Khān. The *Bālabhāgavatam* of Kōnērunātha states that Kāśappa Uḍaya rose up in rebellion against Vīra Narasimha.

to prevent him from joining hands with his ally Kāśappa Uḍaya. If it were so, they completely realised their object, for they succeeded in overtaking the 'Ādil Khān and inflicting another defeat upon him.* Next, they attacked Kāśappa Uḍaya, and having expelled him from Ādavani, occupied the fort.

Vīra Narasimha was greatly delighted to see the flight of the 'Ādil Khān, and the destruction of the traitor Kāśappa Uḍaya. He showed his gratitude to the faithful Āravīḍu chiefs by bestowing on them Kandanavōlu and Ādavani as fiefs and decorating Timma with the anklet of heroes (*gaṇḍa-peṇḍēra*) for overthrowing the traitors (100, 101).

The rebellion of the Ummattūr chiefs:—A large portion of the Southern Canarese country was governed by a family of chiefs whose principal seat was probably the fort of Ummattūr in the present Mysore district. They appear to have come into prominence during the last decades of the 15th century, when the affairs of the kingdom of Vijayanagara were very much disturbed owing to the degeneracy of the later Sangama kings and the usurpation of the throne by Sāḷuva Narasimha. The first chief of any importance was Sōmarāya or Immaḍirāya. He had two sons, Dēpaṇṇa or Dēvarāja Uḍaiyar and Nañjarāja Uḍaiyar. From the provenance of their inscriptions, they seem to have been ruling an extensive territory comprising Mysore, and portions of Bangalore and Tumkur districts of the Mysore state, and parts of Coimbatore and Salem districts of the Madras Presidency. The sons of Immaḍirāya appear to have divided their ancestral estate, the elder keeping the family seat Ummattūr with its dependent territory, and the younger taking Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam and its neighbourhood. The division of territory, however, does not seem to have been rigid, as the inscriptions of the one are found in the territory which must have been under the control of the other. Dēpaṇṇa had two sons, Immaḍi Dēpaṇṇa and Cikkarāya; and Nañjarāja had an only son called Vīra-Nañjarāya.

* *E.I.* xvi, p. 244.

According to *Konkaṇadēśarājula Vṛttāntamu*, Tyāparāja (Dēparāja = Dēvarāja), the chief of Ummattūr who bore sway over Konkaṇa (Kongaṇa = Kongu), together with the other chiefs of Karṇāṭa defied the authority of the Vijayanagara government and refused to pay the tribute. On obtaining the information about their rebellion, Vīra Narasimha resolved to put them down; he is said to have gathered forces and having entrusted the defence of the capital to his half-brother Kṛṣṇarāya, marched towards Ummattūr, accompanied by Acyuta, Śrīranga and other princes. Having entered the territory of the enemy he invested Ummattūr for three months; but owing to the stout resistence offered by the enemy, he was obliged to relinquish the siege. Then he marched towards Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam with the hope of capturing it; but the son of that chief whom formerly Narasā Nāyaka captured alive sought the help of the *Pāḷaigārs* of Ummattūr and Talakāḍ; and as soon as he obtained assistance from them, he sallied out of the fort and inflicted a defeat upon the royal army (97).

The account of the *Konkaṇadēśarājula Vṛttāntamu* is indirectly supported by the inscriptions and the contemporary accounts of Portuguese writers. Though Cikkarāya *alias* Mallarāja, a son of Immaḍi Dēpaṇṇa Uḍaiyar of Ummattūr, acknowledges the suzerainty of Vīra Narasimha in A. D. 1506*, his cousin Nañjarāja seems to have repudiated the royal authority in the following year; for, according to an epigraph of Satyamangalam in the Coimbatore district, he assumes the specifically Vijayanagara royal titles, *arirāya-vibhāḍa* and *bhāṣaikku-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa*†. By another title *Penugoṇḍa-cakrēśvara*, which the Ummattūr chiefs bore, they laid claim implicitly at least to the possession of the fort of Penugoṇḍa in the Anantapur district.‡ Therefore, the inscriptions show obvious indications of the rebellious attitude of the Ummattūr chiefs during the reign of Vīra Narasimha. The contemporary Telugu literature states that Kṛṣṇarāya subdued the rebellious

* *E. C.* iii, Ml. 95. † 210 of 1909; A.R.E. Report 1910, Part ii, para. 55.
‡ *A. S. R.* 1908–9, p. 175.

chief of Ummattūr at the beginning of his reign.* This is corroborated by a statement of Friar Luiz, the Portuguese ambassador, who was at the Vijayanagara court in A.D. 1510. "The king of Narsinga", says he, "was getting himself ready with five thousand men on foot and two thousand on horse, for an expedition against one of his vassals, who had risen up in rebellion, and seized the city of Pergundā, (the rebel) declaring that to himself belonged the kingdom itself by right".†

It is evident that the rebellion had broken out some time before April A.D. 1510; and as it was only a month before, that Kṛṣṇarāya himself had ascended the throne, the rebellion of the Ummattūr chiefs appears to have broken out in all likelihood during the last years of Vīra Narasimharāya's reign.

Though Vīra Narasimha failed to subjugate Ummattūr and Śrīrangapaṭṭanam, his campaign in the Kanarese districts was not entirely unsuccessful; for he appears to have crossed the Western Ghats and reduced Tuḷu-*nāḍ* with all its ports to subjection. Having entered the Tuḷu-*rājya*, Vīra Narasimha proceeded to Mangalore where he lay encamped for some time. The country in the neighbourhood was swept over by Vijayanagara armies; and unable to oppose them Immaḍi Bhairarasa Oḍeyar, the powerful king of the Kalasa-Karakala kingdom, sought safety in flight.‡ The epigraph which furnishes this information does not however, refer to the events of the campaign. Nevertheless, his failure to capture Ummattūr and Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam seems to have weighed heavily on the mind of Vīra Narasimha; and as soon as he reached the capital he began to concert measures for renewing the attack. He collected a fresh army and large quantities of ammunition; but before he could complete his preparations, he was mortally taken ill and died (97).

* *Sources*, p. 139.

† *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalbuquerque* iii, p. 35.

‡ *E.C.* vi, Mg. 41. The inscription is dated A.D. 1516 at the time of the consecration of the shrine of the God Kalaśanātha which Immaḍi Bhairarasa Oḍeyar had renovated in fulfilment of a vow made at the time of the invasion of Bhujabala Mahārāya of Vijayanagara.

Though Vīra Narasimha was engaged, during the short period of this reign, in constant warfare with the Mussalmans and his rebellious nobles, he did not lose sight of the permanent interests of the kingdom. In the first place, as the safety of the kingdom depended mainly on freedom from external attacks, he bestowed much attention on concerting measures to prevent their occurrence. The most important way of securing this object was to improve the condition of the army. To make his army strong enough to resist the Mussalmans, Vīra Narasimha attempted to improve the efficiency of his cavalry. He conquered, as noticed already, Tuḷu-*nāḍ* and made himself master of its port towns, whither he could import horses from abroad without obstruction from his enemies.* Good horses and up-to-date weapons do not in themselves make an army victorious, unless they are properly handled by bold and courageous warriors. Therefore he bestowed much attention on the selection of trainers and cavaliers. "As trainers and troopers he enlisted all efficient candidates irrespective of caste or creed."

Moreover, Narasimha encouraged among his subjects "all kinds of heroic activities," in order to infuse warlike spirit among them. They were taught to believe that fighting a duel was the honourable way of settling their disputes. "If soldiers had any personal quarrels they were compelled to settle them before the Rāya himself by means of duels with swords." Smiths (manufacturers of tools, armours, weapons, etc.) also, if they had any disputes, had to settle them in the presence of the Rāya by duels. As a consequence of this, people acquired mastery over fencing and became expert swordsmen. Skilful swordsmen obtained from the Rāya

* He cultivated friendly relations with the Portuguese, and the *Kērala Paḷama*, records an embassy from him to Almeida who became the Viceroy of the Portuguese possessions in India in A.D. 1505. The embassy is said to have met Almeida at Cannanore and 'proposed a marriage alliance between the royal families of Portugal and Vijayanagara (103); the result of the embassy is not stated. It may have been connected with the commercial treaty which Timōja, the Commandant of the Vijayanagara fleet, concluded with Almeida on behalf of his master Rāja Nara Sinha Rāya at Anjadiva in A.D. 1505. (See Whiteway: *The Rise of the Portuguese*, p. 105).'

beautiful maidens as a reward for proficiency in the art. Thus men of every social rank, in every occupation of life happened to imbibe a warlike spirit in the kingdom of the Rāya, and cowardice (fear of death) was condemned as a most disgraceful thing among the Rāya's subjects. Thus military exercise happened to be the delight of all the subjects of the kingdom so that to fight against the Muslims the king could mobilise an army of 300 to 400 thousand fighting men (104).

Vīra Narasimha also took an active interest in the civil administration of his kingdom. He was ready to listen to the grievances of his subjects and alleviate their distress as much as possible. The movement for the abolition of the marriage tax, a tax which greatly oppressed the people, had its origin in his reign.

CHAPTER XVIII.

KṚṢṆADĒVARĀYA.

By a happy conjunction of circumstances, much valuable information of a trustworthy character has come down to us about the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. The inscriptions of the Rāya and his subordinates, contemporary writers both native and foreign, Mussalman historians, Hindu chroniclers, and the compilers of the village *kaviles* and *kaifiyats* furnish the historian amply with information about his personality and achievements. The only thing which the historian has to do is to arrange the facts in their proper setting so that their true significance may be seen clearly.

The first problem that has to be considered in dealing with the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya is the question of succession. Much uncertainty prevails about the circumstances under which Kṛṣṇadēvarāya ascended the throne. Nuniz states that King Busbalrāo (Vīra Narasimha), having summoned his minister Sāḷuva Timma near his death-bed, commanded that he should place the king's eight year old son upon the throne after his death and put out the eyes of his half-brother, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya to prevent him from seizing the throne. Sāḷuva Timma pretended to obey the order* of his dying master. He put out promptly the eyes of a she-goat, and produced them before the king; but as Busbalrāo was already sinking, he was unable to detect the fraud. He died soon after probably with the satisfaction that he had removed the obstacles from the path of his son; but as soon as he died, Sāḷuva Timma set aside the claims of the late king's son, and raised Kṛṣṇadēvarāya to the throne.†

The account of Nuniz is, however, contradicted by the *Rāyāvācakam*. According to this work, Vīra Narasimha‡

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* *Forgotten Empire*, p. 314–15. † *Ibid.*

‡ According to A. Rangaswamy Sarasvati, 'the father of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya is called Vīra Narasimha instead of Narasa,' in the *Rāyavācakam*, and that Vīra Narasimha, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇarāya, who preceded him on the throne for some years is ignored.

communicated one day to the assembled captains (*daḷanāyakas*) that as he had become old, they should make the necessary arrangements for crowning Kṛṣṇadēvarāya king of the city and the kingdom. He is also said to have handed over to Kṛṣṇadēvarāya the signet-ring at an auspicious moment!

It is not easy to decide which of these two accounts is correct. Nuniz visited Vijayanagara some ten years after the coronation of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Though he could not have acquired the knowledge of events leading up to the coronation from his personal experience, he could have collected the necessary information from people who had direct knowledge of the various happenings that took place at Vijayanagara on the eve of Kṛṣṇarāya's accession. There is no reason for treating the account of Nuniz with undue suspicion. The *Rāyavācakam*, which must have been composed either at the end of the 16th century or at the commencement of the 17th embodies a traditional account of the events which took place nearly a century before. It derives, however, some support from the inscriptions. Kṛṣṇadēvarāya seems to have been on friendly terms with Vīra Narasimha almost up to the end of the latter's reign. In several copper-plate charters of Vīra Narasimha, Kṛṣṇarāya and his mother Nāgaladēvi are

(*Sources*, p. 111) The same opinion has been expressed by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar in the foreword which he contributed to the Āndhra Sāhitya Pariṣat edition of the *Rāyavācakam*. "One historical discrepancy, however," says he, 'is too important to be omitted. Kṛṣṇadēvarāya is said to have succeeded his father as ruler, and nothing is said of Kṛṣṇa's elder brother, who ruled before him and whom he succeeded." (*The Āndhra Sāhitya Pariṣat Publications*, No. 33, pp. 3-4). This is not true. Though the *Rāyavācakam* does not explicitly state how Kṛṣṇadēvarāya is related to Vīra Narasimha, it makes it clear that the latter is not identical with Narasa. The following passages put into the mouths of Kṛṣṇarāya and the 'Ādil Khān make it obvious that the author of the *Rāyavācakam* was aware of the distinction between Vīra Narasimha and Narasā Nāyaka. "Īśvara Nāyaḍu, Narasimha Nāyaḍu, and Vīra Narasimharāya ruled the kingdom before us." Again, 'What can Kṛṣṇarāya hope to achieve more than Īśvara Nāyaka, Narasā Nāyaka, and Vīra Narasimharāya?" (*The Āndhra Sāhitya Pariṣat Publications*, No. 33, pp. 28, 48). It is evident thatt he *Rāyavācakam* does not confound Narasa with Vīra Narasimha. On the contrary, it distinguishes between them carefully. Therefore, Vīra Narasimha who according to the *Rāyavācakam* made arrangements for Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's coronation must be identified not with his father, Narasa, but with his elder brother and predecessor, Vīra Narasimha.

referred to in respectful terms;* neither Acyuta and Śrīranga nor their mother Ōbāmbā is ever mentioned. This seems to indicate the existence of friendly relations between Vīra Narasimha and Kṛṣṇarāya. Though the account of the *Rāyavācakam* appears to be in harmony with the tenor of the inscriptions, evidence of a more substantial character is necessary for setting aside the almost contemporaneous narrative of Nuniz. Therefore, the story of Nuniz may be accepted, for the present, as genuine.

The date of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's accession.–The exact date on which Kṛṣṇadēvarāya ascended the throne has not been discovered so far. His predecessor Vīra Narasimha was ruling on May 4, A.D. 1509† and his rule very probably continued up to July 22, A.D., 1509‡. The earliest inscription of Kṛṣṇarāya is dated July 26, A.D. 1509§. There is thus a short interval of four days between the latest date of Vīra Narasimha and the earliest date of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. The death of the former and the succession of the latter to the throne must have taken place within this interval. The *Vijayanagara Sāmrājyamu*, a report prepared by the officers of the *aṭṭhavaṇam* at the instance of Venkaṭa II in A.D. 1604, states that the coronation of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was celebrated on the Śrī-jayanti day in the bright half of the month of Āvaṇi of the year Śukla corresponding to Ś. S. 1432 (current) (19-a). As Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was considered a re-incarnation of Śrī Kṛṣṇa,¶ it is not unlikely that the celebration of his coronation was put off until the Śrī-jayanti, the birth-day of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, which was near at hand. As the Śrīj-ayanti of the year Ś. S. 1432 Śukla fell on 8th August A. D. 1509, it may be concluded that though Kṛṣṇarāya succeeded his brother about July 25, A.D. 1509, his coronation was actually celebrated a fortnight later.

The condition of the kingdom.—The condition of the Vijayanagara kingdom was far from satisfactory at the time of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's accession. Although Nuniz asserts that King

* *E.I.* xiv, pp. 231-40. † 342 of 1892. ‡ 289 of 1915.
§ 703 of 1919. ¶ *Sources*, p. 139.

Busbalrāo, the predecessor of Kṛṣṇarāya, destroyed all the rebellious chiefs and confiscated their estates*, some of the *pāḷaigārs* were still at large, and the authority of the central government was not very effective. Vīra Narasimha was not successful in his attempts to subdue the chief of Ummattūr who, having set up the standard of rebellion, laid claims to the sovereignty of the entire Mysore country, which appears to have backed him up. To aggravate the internal situation, the kingdom was subjected to the attacks of the enemies from outside. The Gajapatis of Orissa were still in occupation of the north-eastern districts of the kingdom, and Pratāparudra was showing distinct indications of hostility. Though the Bahmanī kingdom had virtually ceased to exist by the commencement of the 16th century, the Muslim pressure from the north had lost none of its vigour. Yusuf 'Ādil Khān, the founder of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bijāpūr, had been persistently attempting to extend the boundary of his kingdom at the expense of the Rāya. The Portuguese, who made their first appearance in India during the last decade of the fifteenth century, though generally well-disposed towards the king of Vijayanagara were occasionally inclined to give trouble. Therefore, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was obliged to be at war with some one or other of his enemies almost from the day of his accession.

To begin with, Kṛṣṇarāya appears to have been involved in a war with his northern neighbours. His Hampi inscription dated 28th January A.D. 1510 alludes to victories which he won over the Sulṭān and the Gajapati.† The circumstances under which these victories were won are not fully known. The data available leave some gaps to be filled by surmise regarding the probable course of events.

Kṛṣṇarāya and the Sulṭān.—The Sulṭān over whom Kṛṣṇarāya claims the victory is Maḥmūd Shāh II, the Sulṭān of Bidar. That Kṛṣṇarāya was involved in a war soon after his accession with the Bahmanī Sulṭān is revealed by a casual

* *Forgotten Empire*, p. 314.

† *E.I.* i, p. 370.

reference in the instructions which Afonso Albuquerque gave to his agent in the Vijayanagara court. Albuquerque instructed his agent to promise the Rāya help in the war which he was waging with the Sulṭān of the Deccan provided he agreed to join the Portuguese in a league against the Zamorin of Calicut.* The war, however, was not due to any act of aggression on the part of the Rāya. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh II, though incapable of enforcing his authority over his subjects, was untiring in his efforts to spread the gospel of Islām by means of the sword. In the year A.H. 907 (A.D. 1501) it was resolved at Bidar that 'once in each year the whole of the *amīrs* and *wazīrs* should come to the royal court, and join in a *jihād* against the idolators of Vijayanagara and hoisting the standards of Islām should use their utmost endeavours to eradicate the infidels and tyrants.† In pursuance of this resolution, Sulṭān Maḥmūd was accustomed to invade the Vijayanagara kingdom from time to time, plunder the villages and towns, and seize as much territory as he could lay hands on.

One of the these *jihāds* seems to have come immediately after Kṛṣṇarāya's accession. The Muhammadan historians describe a *jihād* against the infidels of Vijayanagara in which Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh II not only sustained a defeat but received serious wounds from which he recovered but slowly. The date of this *jihād*, however, is divergently given. The Anonymous Historian of the Quṭb Shāhī kings assigns it to A.H. 911;‡ but Sayyid 'Alī places it in A.H. 923.§ The dates mentioned by these two historians cannot be accepted. The former dislocates the events from their chronological setting to show that the Bahmanī nobles, specially Quly Quṭb-ul-Mulk, the ancestor of his patron, remained loyal to the Sulṭān until his death which he refers to 912 A.H. This is palpably false; for, in the first place the regnal period of thirty-seven years

* *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso DAlbouquerque* ii, Ch. xvii, pp. 75-6.

† *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir, I.A.* xxviii, p. 316. ‡ Briggs *Ferishta* iii, (App.), pp. 350-1.

§ *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir, I.A.* xxviii, p. 321.

which he allots to Maḥmūd Shāh II does not tally with the date of his accession as given by other historians. Deducting 37 years from A.H. 912 we get A.H. 875 as the date of his accession; but as a matter of fact, his father Muḥammad Shāh II was on the throne until A.H. 887, and his accession did not take place until after his father's demise.* If, on the other hand, 37 is added to A.H. 887 we obtain A.H. 924 which is the actual date of his death. Secondly, the *jihād* is said to have taken place in the year following the death of Yusuf 'Ādil Khān, an event which though, he assigns to A.H. 911, did not take place before A.H. 916 Therefore, the date given by him for the *jihād* does not indicate accurately the time of its occurrence. A.H. 923 given by Sayyid 'Alī for the *jihād* is too late; for, at that time Kṛṣṇarāya could not have successfully opposed the combined might of the Bahmanī kingdom as he is said to have done, since his armies were still involved in the Kaliṅga war. Moreover, the inclusion of Malik Aḥmad Baḥrī Nizam-ul-Mulk among the nobles who accompanied the Sulṭān on this occasion definitely points to an earlier date. Since Malik Aḥmad died in A.H. 916 or 917, the *jihād* in which he participated could not have taken place later. Taking all the facts mentioned by the Muslim historians into consideration, A.H. 916 (A.D. 1510) appears to be the most probable date for the *jihād*. In that case it must be identical with the war between Kṛṣṇarāya and the king of Deccan alluded to by Albuquerque. Another fact which seems to have a direct bearing on the subject must not be lost sight of in this connection. Kṛṣṇarāya's victory over the Sulṭān is referred to, as noticed already, in his Hampi inscription dated 28th January A. D. 1510. It follows from this that the *jihād* under discussion had taken place some time before this date. As Kṛṣṇarāya succeeded his brother about the end of May A.D. 1509, the *jihād* in which he overthrew the Bahmanī Sulṭān must have taken place between the date of his accession and that of the Hampi inscription.

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* Briggs *Ferishta* ii, p. 518; *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, *I.A.* xxviii, p. 292.

The Battle of Dīwānī :—Maḥmūd Shāh II set out from Bidar, accompanied by Malik Aḥmad Baḥrī, Nūrī Khān Khwāja-i-Jahān, the 'Ādil Khān, Quṭb-ul-Mulk, 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Dastūri Mamālik, Mīrzā Luṭf-ul-lāh and others.* When the Muslim armies reached Dīwānī, their progress was checked by the Vijayanagara forces who came to oppose their advance. Both the sides then prepared for a battle. Maḥmūd Shāh II commanded the centre; and Quṭb-ul-Mulk led the right; and the other nobles including Malik Aḥmad Baḥrī and the 'Ādil Khān were probably in charge of the left. Though Quṭb-ul-Mulk broke the left wing of the enemy, the Muslim centre under the Sulṭān gave way. The Hindu onset was so fierce and impetuous that it shattered the Muslim lines and threw them into utmost confusion. The Sulṭān was isolated; and while he was probably attempting to extricate himself, he was thrown off his horse and nearly trodden to death.† He was, however, rescued from the jaws of death perhaps by Rāmarāja Timma, one of Kṛṣṇarāya's officers, who is said to have made a gift to Muḥammad of his life (108). In the meanwhile, some of his troops who accidentally discovered the Sulṭān took charge of him and conveyed him to the tent of Mīrzā Luṭf-ul-lāh, where his wounds were attended to.

The *jihād* ended in a great disaster. The Muslim nobles gave up fighting, and having folded up the 'carpet of contention and war' they retreated towards Bidar.‡

The retreat of the vanquished Muslim army was not unhampered, as Kṛṣṇarāya seems to have followed it at the head of his forces in close pursuit. Yusuf 'Ādil Khān whose territory lay adjacent to Vijayanagara frontier turned round to oppose him; but in an engagement which took place in the neighbourhood of Kōvilkoṇḍa he sustained a defeat and lost his life.§

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* *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, *I.A.* xxviii, p. 321.

† *Ibid.*; Anonymous Historian, Briggs *Ferishta* iii (App.), p. 351.

‡ *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, *I.A.* xxviii, p. 321.

§ *Ibid*, p. 319: Briggs *Ferishta* iii (App.), p. 350; *Sources*, p. 133; *J.O.R.* X, pp. 158-160, 166 (*Yavanarājyasthāpanācārya*).

Meeting with no further opposition on his way, Kṛṣṇarāya proceeded to Kōvilkoṇḍa, and having laid siege to the fort captured it without difficulty.*

Kṛṣṇarāya returned to Vijayanagara after his victories at Dīwānī and Kōvilkoṇḍa, and busied himself with the internal administration of his kingdom. It was at this time that he reorganized the army and converted the motley collection of the *kaijītam* and the *amaram* forces into an effective instrument of war (138). He did not, however, neglect to keep a vigilant eye on the affairs of the Bahmanī kingdom, where the elements of anarchy and disorder were gradually gaining strength owing to the rivalry of ambitious noblemen.

On the death of Yusuf 'Ādil Khān, his young son Ismā'īl succeeded. As Ismā'īl was too young to govern his dominions, Kamāl Khān, the right-hand man of his father, became his regent and assumed the reins of government. Kamāl Khān, who received the training in statecraft from his late master, directed the affairs of state with energy; and in attempting to push forward one of his schemes of territorial aggrandizement, he came into conflict with Malik Dastūr Dīnār, the ruler of Gulburga. Kamāl Khān marched against him and after a siege of two months captured Gulburga.† Dīnār fled to Bidar and took refuge with Barīd-i-Mamālik, who received him cordially, and marched at the head of his army accompanied by the Sulṭān to drive away the 'Ādil Khān;‡ but in an encounter with the 'Ādil Khān's forces he was routed and the Sulṭān was taken prisoner.§ Kamāl Khān then appears to have proceeded to Bidar, and captured the place. He deprived Maḥmūd Shāh of all power and having confined him to his

* The Anonymous Historian refers to the capture of Kōvilkoṇḍa by Qūly Quṭb-ul-Mulk from Kṛṣṇarāya about A. D. 1517 [Brigg's *Ferishta* iii App., p. 357]. This fort was not included in the Vijayanagara dominions before Kṛṣṇarāya's time. As Kṛṣṇarāya's armies are not known to have penetrated to this region during his Kaliṅga campaign, he must have taken possession of it after the destruction of the Muhammadan army at Dīwānī.

† *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso DAlboquerque* iii, Ch. viii, p. 36.

‡ *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, *I.A.* xxviii, p. 391.

§ *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso DAlboquerque* iii, Ch. viii, p. 36 (*Yavanarājyasthāpanācārya*) *J. O. R.* x, pp. 168-171.

palace, appointed 'Azmat-ul-Mulk, one of the 'Adil Khānī nobles, as his jailor.* This roused the jealousy and the indignation of the other nobles, as the annexation of Bidar and its dependencies enhanced the 'Ādil Khān's power. Besides, he was expected to make use of the name of the Sulṭān, who had fallen into his hands, to serve his own ends. Therefore, they resolved to make war upon the 'Ādil Khān. Barīd-i-Mamālik, Malik Aḥmad Baḥrī, Quṭb-ul-Mulk and Dastūr Dīnār united their forces and marching against Bidar laid siege to it. The Sayyids and other men endeavoured their utmost to effect an amicable settlement, but to no purpose. The fort held out for a while, and after a good deal of fighting, 'Azmat-ul-Mulk had an interview with Barīd and apparently made arrangements for the surrender of the fort.† They next proceeded against the 'Ādil Khānī dominions and captured several forts including Gulburga on the east of the Bhīmā, and finally advanced on Bijāpūr itself.‡ The approach of the allies created panic in Bijāpūr, and caused much confusion in the districts. Disorders broke out in several places specially at Belgaum, where the Hindus rose up in rebellion and requested Kṛṣṇarāya to come and occupy their city.§ Kṛṣṇarāya, who was in fact waiting for a favourable opportunity to dislodge the ruler of Bijāpūr from the Kṛṣṇā-Tungabhadrā doab, readily responded to the invitation of the Hindus of Belgaum and led his armies against Bijāpūr in August, A.D. 1510 and laid siege to Rāicūr.¶ Kamāl Khān met the situation manfully; he hastily summoned troops from distant garrison towns like Goa; and with their help defeated Barīd and his allies in battle and forced them to retreat.‖ He does not however seem to have concerted measures for driving back the Vijayanagara armies from the neighbourhood of Rāicūr.

* *The Commentaries* iii, Ch. viii, p. 36; *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir I.A.* xxviii, p. 319.

† *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir, I.A.* xxviii, pp. 319-20.

‡ *The Commentaries* iii, Ch. viii, p. 36; Briggs *Ferishta* ii, pp. 549-50.

§ *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso DAlboquerque* iii, Ch. viii, p. 36.

¶ *Forgotten Empire*, p. 125 n. 1; *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso DAlboquerque* iii, Ch. xiii, p. 202; Briggs' *Ferishta* iii, p. 44.

‖ *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso DAlboquerque* iii, Ch. viii, p. 36; Briggs' *Ferishta.* ii, pp. 549-50.

Kamāl Khān's failure to oppose Kṛṣṇarāya was probably due to considerations of policy. He must have been aware of the friendly relations that existed between the Rāya and the Portuguese governor; and felt that under the circumstances it was not easy to gain any advantage in the field over the former. Moreover, he began to cherish treacherous designs upon the throne. He wanted to set aside his young master, and seize his kingdom. To further his designs he entered into an alliance with Amīr Barīd and having ceded to him Gulburga and other forts up to the Bhīmā secured his support. As soon as the treaty was concluded Kamāl Khān imprisoned Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān and the Queen-mother Būbūjī Khānam in the citadel of Bijāpūr and proceeded to Shōlāpūr with his army to invest that fort. At the same time Barīd imprisoned Sulṭan Maḥmūd Shāh II in his palace at Bidar and moved to Gulburga and occupied the fort. Meanwhile, Kamāl Khān laid siege to Shōlāpūr and having captured it after a siege of three months returned to Bijāpūr. While he was engaged in making arrangements for formally proclaiming himself king, he was slain in May A.D. 1511 by an assassin in the employ of the Queen-mother.*

Though the assassination of Kamāl Khān brought freedom and power to Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān, it did not restore tranquillity in the kingdom. Dissensions arose among the 'Ādil Khānī nobles. Kamāl Khān who was a Persian by birth was the leader of the Persian and Khurāssānī nobles; and his assassination was strongly resented by them, and 'they opposed the Turks and Rumes because they had put to death Camalcão'.† Kṛṣṇarāya who took Rāicūr by this time moved northwards and advanced on Gulburga. Ferishta, no doubt, declares that Amīr Barīd evacuated Gulburga as soon as the news of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān's emancipation reached him. It is unlikely that Barīd would have abandoned Gulburga unless he was compelled to do so. What really forced him to leave the fort was the arrival of the Vijayanagara army. The *Vijayanagara*

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* Briggs *Ferishta* iii, p. 37.

† *Commentaries of the Great Afonso DAlboquerque* iii, Ch. liii, pp. 248-9.

Sāmrājyamu alludes to Kṛṣṇarāya's victory at Gulburga (114-c). The *Kaifiyat of Kaḍavakolanu* which gives a graphic account of the battle between Kṛṣṇarāya and the Mussalmans outside Gulburga refers to the forces of the Nizām (104-d). Probably Barīd obtained assistance from the Ahmadnagar court. The battle of Gulburga ended in the defeat of Muslim armies. Kṛṣṇarāya captured the fort of Gulburga and set up the boar standard on the battlements. He pursued Barīd to Bidar, laid siege to the fort and captured it (114-a). Though the fall of Bidar spelt ruin to the ambitions of Barīd, it brought liberty to Maḥmūd Shāh II. Kṛṣṇarāya was a politician as well as a general. He set the Sulṭān at liberty and restored him to power; for, he wanted to weaken the Mussalmans by throwing an apple of discord in their midst. So long as the shadow of the Bahmanī monarchy persisted there would be no peace among the Muslim rulers of the Deccan. To commemorate this act of the resuscitation of the Bahmanī monarchy, Kṛṣṇarāya assumed the title of *Yavanarājyasthāpanācārya**.

An epigraph dated 13th Oct. A.D. 1510 states that Koccerlakōṭa in the Ammanabrōli-*sīma* in the Koṇḍavīḍu-*rājya* was granted to Sāḷuva Timma by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.† Unless this region had been conquered by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya from the Gajapati, he could not have bestowed it as an *amaram* upon his minister. Therefore, it is not improbable that Kṛṣṇarāya came into conflict with the Gajapati as early as A.D. 1510.

The subjugation of Ummattūr :—Kṛṣṇadēvarāya had to turn his attention to the affairs of the Ummattūr country next. Gangarāja, the *pāḷaigār* of the district had been in a state of rebellion, since the last years of the reign of Vīra Narasimha. Emboldened by his success over the armies of that monarch, he showed no inclination to submit to his successor who had yet to show his capacity to govern. With the two island forts of Śivansamudram and Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam

* *J. O. R.* x, pp. 153-76. † *N.D.I.* ii, O. 46 ; *A.R.E.* 1933-34, ii, p. 42.

in his possession he was able to impose his power over the upper Kāvērī valley and imperil the maintenance of royal authority in that region. Although Kṛṣṇarāya was aware of the danger, he was not able to pay much attention to it, owing to his preoccupation with the Bahmanī invasion; but with the defeat and the retreat of the invaders, Kṛṣṇarāya became free to deal with the Ummattūr chieftain; accordingly he despatched an army to reduce him to subjection.

The strength of the army :—According to Nuniz, Kṛṣṇarāya is said to have remained after his coronation at Vijayanagara 'for a year and a half' 'learning the affairs of the kingdom.' During this period he is said to have collected an army of "thirty-four thousand foot and eight hundred elephants." * Though the *Rāyavācakam* corroborates Nuniz's evidence that Kṛṣṇarāya spent some time at Vijayanagara at the beginning of his reign in making preparations for war, it does not precisely state the length of this time or the strength of the army gathered under his standard. However, it leaves the impression on the mind that the army which he led after the preliminary period of preparation against Gangarāja was far greater in strength than the figures mentioned by Nuniz. The *amara* levies which Kṛṣṇarāya is said to have summoned to join him consisted of 24,000 horse, 1,200 elephants, and 200,000 foot. Besides, the 12,000 horse, 100,000 foot, and 500 elephants made over to him by the *amara-nāyakas* in lieu of the arrears of tribute, the *kaijītam* forces maintained by the king, and the *pāḷaipaṭ* contingents must also be taken into account. But according to Fr. Luiz, who was at Vijayanagara at the time, the force that was despatched against the rebel consisted only of seven thousand men. Nuniz does not mention the Ummattūr campaign, although it is possible that Kṛṣṇarāya might have despatched all the forces which he collected during 'the one and half years' period of preparation to subdue the rebel. The account of the *Rāyavācakam* cannot be completely trusted, as it only embodies the tradition that

* *Forgotten Empire*, p. 316.

was current about the beginning of the 17th century. Greater credence must be given to the contemporary estimate of Fr. Luiz, though the army mentioned by him might have comprised only the preliminary expeditionary force.

The duration of the Ummattūr campaign:—The *Rāyavācakam* and the *Kṛṣṇarāya Vijayam* dismiss the Ummattūr campaign with a brief notice. Kṛṣṇarāya is said to have captured both Ummattūr and Śivansamudram within a single day.* This is not, however, supported by other evidence. In the *Kongudēśarājākkaḷin Caritram*, the campaign is stated to have lasted for one whole year (113); and this is corroborated by the contemporary Portuguese writings and the inscriptions. Fr. Luiz, whom Alfonso DAlbuquerque despatched as his ambassador to the Vijayanagara court, alludes to this campaign in a letter which he wrote to his master some time before September A.D. 1510.

"The King of Narsinga" says he, "was getting himself ready with five thousand men on foot, and two thousand men on horse, for an expedition against one of his vassals, who had risen up in rebellion and seized the city of Pergunda, (the rebel) declaring to himself belonged the kingdom itself by right."†

The rebel chief who seized Pergunda (Penugoṇḍa) has been identified with Gangarāja of Ummattūr, "who", it is said, "showed himself ready to make capital out of the titles conferred on him by Kṛṣṇa's father Narasa (1) *Penugoṇḍacakrēśvara* which might have carried with it the administration of the province of Penugoṇḍa, and (2) *Cikkarāyapaṭṭa* which in his case should have been the dignity of a subordinate king."‡ Assuming

* *Sources*, p. 118. † *Commentaries of the Great Afonso DAlboquerque* iii, p. 35.

‡ S.K. Ayyangar: *The Yet-remembered Ruler &c.*, p. 5. Though it is not unlikely that the rebellious chief of Ummattūr, who seized Penugoṇḍa is identical with Gangarāja, the inference drawn from Gangarāja's titles is not supported by evidence. In the first place, no evidence is available in support of the proposition that Narasa conferred any titles upon Gangarāja, or, as to that matter, on any Ummattūr chief. Secondly, the title *Penugoṇḍa Cakrēśvara* did not carry with it 'the administration of the province of

that the proposed identification is not unreasonable, the campaign against Ummattūr must be said to have begun some time before December, A.D. 1510. As Kṛṣṇarāya was still at Śivansamudram on Wednesday, Āśvīja. śu. di. 12, Āngirasa (Śaka. 1434),* the campaign appears to have extended up to the end of A.D. 1512.

The events of the campaign.—The earliest event connected with this campaign must have been the recapture of the fort of Penugoṇḍa. As Fr. Luiz states that some time before December, A.D. 1510 Kṛṣṇarāya despatched an army against the rebel who seized Penugoṇḍa, and as Penugoṇḍa was in the possession of Koṇḍamarasa at the end of April, A. D. 1512†, it is evident that it was captured in the interval. The *Rāyavācakam* and the *Kṛṣṇarāya Vijayam* allude to the capture of Ummattūr and Śivansamudram.‡ The *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* mentions the dismantling of the battlements of Ummattūr and Śivansamudram.§ The *Koṅgudēśarājākkaḷin Caritram* describes the siege of Śivansamudram at some length. It is said that Gangarāja made the fort of Śivansamudram his headquarters, where he collected forces and ammunition in order to make it (more) secure. Kṛṣṇarāya having laid siege to it secured the alliance of Cikkarāya who was ill-disposed towards Gangarāja. 'He pitched his camp on the slopes of the Prēta and the Gauri hills and (invested the place) for more than one year. At last he approached the fort by the Ottina pass and stormed it. Gangarāja while fleeing from the enemy was

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Penugoṇḍa'. Now, according to Nuniz, the fort of Penugoṇḍa was in the possession of Narasā Nāyaka at the time when Codemera (Koṇḍamarasa) acting upon his instructions, is said to have murdered Tammarāya. (*F.E.* p. 360 and n. 1.) As Tammarāya was alive even after the death of Narasa, it had been rightly suggested that the deed was perpetrated at the instance of his son, Vīra Narasimha. In that case, Penugoṇḍa was in the possession of the Rāya up to A.D. 1505, and Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya (Codemera) was holding sway over Penugoṇḍa in April, A.D. 1512 (*E.C.* xii, p. 95). As Fr. Luiz explicitly states that the rebel chief had 'seized the city of Pergunda', the Rāya appears to have temporarily lost hold of it between A.D. 1505 and 1512. Therefore, it cannot be said that the title *Penugoṇḍa Cakrēśvara* carried with it the administration of the province.

* 180 of 1913. † *E.C.* xii, Pg. 5, ‡ *Sources*, pp. 118, 130.

§ *Ibid*, p. 141.

drowned in a pool of the Kāvērī called *Gangansucī*" (113). According to the *Sangītasūryōdayam*, Kṛṣṇarāya destroyed the fort of Śivansamudram so completely that its site soon became a proper habitation for jackals. (116-a).

Administrative arrangements:—The *Koṅgudēśarājākkaḻin Caritram* refers to some administrative arrangements which Kṛṣṇarāya made for the maintenance of royal authority in the conquered territory. He is said to have made Śrīranga-paṭṭaṇam its capital; and entrusted the administration to three chiefs, Vīrapa Gauḍa, Kempa Gauḍa and Cikkarāya, the existence of whose rule in this part of the country is attested by the inscriptions.* Kṛṣṇarāya appears to have constituted the territory into a new province with Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam as its capital, to keep it more effectively under control, and appointed one of his officers probably Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja as its first governor.†

The Kaḷinga War.—Kṛṣṇarāya next turned his attention to the affairs of the east coast. The Gajapati of Orissa was still in possession of the districts of Udayagiri and Koṇḍavīḍu which Puruṣōttama had wrested from Sāḷuva Narasimha. The loss of these two districts seems to have weighed very heavily upon Narasimha's mind; for, according to Nuniz, he enjoined on his successors, in his last will and testament, that they should capture them. Though Narasā Nāyaka made an attempt to recover them, he was not successful. Moreover, the king of Orissa showed no inclination to be a peaceful neighbour. Consequently Kṛṣṇarāya made up his mind to wage war upon him as soon as circumstances proved favourable. His victory over the Mussalmans freed him from the fear of an attack from that side. Therefore, he declared war upon the Gajapati in A.D. 1513, and marched upon the fort of Udayagiri.

* Vīrappa Gauḍa figures in *E.C.* iii, My. 5, 32: and Kempa Gauḍa must be the same as Kempe Gauḍa who is said to have ruled from 1513 to 1569 (*Journal of the Mythic Society* xiii, p. 724); and Cikkarāya is mentioned in *E.C.* iii, Ml. 95, 96 and Nj. 35.

† *E.C.* iii, Nj. 195.

The *Āmuktamālyada* marks out five distinct stages of the war, and its evidence is supported by the inscriptions.* The first stage ended with the capture of Udayagiri; the second with the fall of Koṇḍavīḍu; the third with the storming of Koṇḍapalli; the fourth with the setting up of a pillar of victory at Poṭnūr; and the fifth with the attack upon Cuttack, the capital of the Gajapati. This division of the Kaḷinga War into five stages is helpful and convenient, as it renders possible a succinct description of all the events connected with it.

(i) *The siege of Udayagiri:*—The siege of Udayagiri appears to have commenced about the beginning of the year A.D. 1513. According to Nuniz, Kṛṣṇarāya captured the fort after a siege of 'a year and a half'.† After the capture of the fort, he paid a visit, on his way to Vijayanagara, to the Tirumala hill in the Chittoor district to offer thanks to god Venkaṭēśvara, his favourite deity, on 6 July, A.D. 1514.‡ Assuming that Kṛṣṇarāya accomplished the journey from Udayagiri to Tirumala hill within a week, the fort of Udayagiri may be considered to have fallen about the end of June, A.D. 1514. Then, making allowance of 'a year and a half' for the duration of the siege, it may be said to have begun roughly in the month of January, A.D. 1513. The *Vijayanagara Sāmrājyamu*, however, states that Kṛṣṇarāya started from his capital, on 16 March, A.D. 1513, on an expedition against the Gajapati. (114-c). This seems to gain support from the evidence of the inscriptions. Kṛṣṇarāya was very probably at Vijayanagara on 7 March, A.D. 1513, § and at Tirupati, on his way to Udayagiri, on 13 June, A.D. 1513. ¶ It may appear from this that the evidence on the subject is contradictory; but the contradiction is more apparent than real. Kṛṣṇarāya might have sent his army in advance to besiege Udayagiri and started later from his capital to join the army, when the siege had already made considerable progress.

* *N.D.I.* iii, U. 40; *S.I.I.* vi, 248, 694, 696; 824 of 1922.

† *Forgotten Empire*, p. 316.

‡ 53, 54, 56 of 1899.

§ 24, 49 of 1899.

¶ *T.D.E.R.*, p. 152

The siege of the fort was, as stated already, protracted extending over a period of nearly eighteen months. This was partly due to the natural strength of the fort and the inaccessibility of its walls, which were encompassed by hills and rocks. "The place at this time," says Nuniz, "was so strong that they could not approach it except by one way which was so narrow that men could only pass along it one at a time." * But Kṛṣṇarāya was a general who never allowed himself to be deterred by difficulties however insuperable they might appear. As rocks and boulders stood in his way, he made up his mind to remove them. In the course of a few months, 'he made many paths across the rocky hills, breaking up many great boulders, in order to make a road for his soldiers to approach the towers of the fortress.'† He widened in particular the one narrow pass, where formerly only one man could pass at a time, into a broad road. As a consequence of these operations, 'he could come close to the fortress.'‡

Kṛṣṇarāya was not, however, allowed to proceed with the investment of the fort undisturbed. The Gajapati, Pratāparudra, seems to have advanced at the head of his army upon Udayagiri with the object of raising the siege; Kṛṣṇarāya opposed him on the way, and having inflicted a defeat upon him, pursued him as far as Koṇḍavīḍu. Then he returned to Udayagiri and constructed a *mēṇata* (a wall of circumvallation?) around the fort with the object of starving the garrison to surrender. Tirumala Rāhuttarāya, a paternal uncle of the Gajapati, who was in charge of the fort, seems to have offered stubborn resistance.§ Well-attested tradition has it that Kṛṣṇarāya, being vexed with the pertinacity shown by the defenders, vowed on one day that he would not bathe (and consequently would not partake of food) until he set his foot on the head of Tirumala Rāhuttarāya; on hearing this declaration, Rāhuttarāya is said to have surrendered, placing his *uṣṇīṣa* at Kṛṣṇarāya's feet, so that he might trample upon it instead of

* *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 316-17.
† *Ibid*, p. 316.
‡ *Ibid*, p. 317.
§ *N.D.I.* iii, U. 40.

upon his head and spare his life without any breach of his vow. This tradition appears to be founded on fact; for Kṛṣṇarāya asserts in his *Āmuktamālyada* that the paternal uncle of the Gajapati placed the rare gift of his *uṣṇīṣa* at his (Rāya's) feet.* This act of submission, no doubt, saved him from death but not from captivity. Kṛṣṇarāya took possession of the fort, and appointed Koṇḍamarasayya as its governor.†

The fall of Udayagiri was celebrated as a great event. Kṛṣṇarāya, accompanied by his queens Tirumaladēvī and Cinnādēvī, paid a visit to Tirupati and presented valuable jewels to the god Venkaṭēśvara, as a thank-offering.‡ To commemorate the victory, a special shrine was erected at the capital, and the image of Bālakṛṣṇa which Kṛṣṇarāya carried away from Udayagiri was installed therein.§ The great sage Vyāsarāya composed special songs in honour of the advent of the deity.¶

(ii) *The capture of Koṇḍavīḍu.*—Though Kṛṣṇarāya returned to the capital after the fall of Udayagiri, the army proceeded towards Koṇḍavīḍu. 'On seeing the army rolling onwards like an ocean at full tide, the dust spreading up to the sky and hiding the sun's light, and hearing the sound of the trumpets, the garrisons of various forts abandoned their posts and took to flight. In this manner the garrisons of all the forts in the district of Koṇḍavīḍu, having been ousted from their places, repaired to the headquarters of their respective chiefs. The Bōya chiefs of the Eighteen *Kampaṇas* together with the 3,00,000 infantry (of the royal army) devastated the country dependent on Koṇḍavīḍu, Koṇḍapalli, Bellamkoṇḍa,

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* *Sources*, p. 137.

† *N.D.I.* iii, 14. According to the *Rāyavācakam*, Kṛṣṇarāya placed this fort in charge of a certain Kampaṇa. This officer is probably the same as Sāḷuva Kamparāya, who is spoken of in the *Hayalakṣaṇa Vilāsam* as the bearer of Kṛṣṇarāya's sword. But there is no epigraphical or other reliable evidence to show that he had any connection with the administration of Udayagiri.

‡ *S.I.I.* iv, No. 232, *M.E.R.* 53 of 1889. § *S.I.I.* iv, No. 254.

¶ Narasimhachari: *Karṇāṭa Kavicarite* ii, pp. 206–7

Vinukoṇḍa, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and other forts. The people of various *sīmas* having given up all their property to plunder, crept into the forts that were within easy reach."* Such is said to have been the effect of the invasion, on the inhabitants of the east coast. The forts of Kandukūr, Addanki, Vinukoṇḍa, Bellamkoṇḍa, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Tangeḍa and Kētavaram fell rapidly one after another into the hands of the Rāya; and having completed the subjugation of the country and the minor forts, the Vijayanagara army proceeded at last against Koṇḍavīḍu and laid siege to it. The conduct of the siege operations was left in charge of Sāḷuva Timmarasa, who seems to have devoted all his energies to reduce the garrison quickly to submission.

Koṇḍavīḍu was a place of great importance; it was the chief city of the Gajapati dominions in the south of the river Kṛṣṇā; because of its importance, it was strongly guarded, and 'all the chiefs of the kingdom' were stationed in it.

Owing to the natural strength of the fort, and the concentration of the Uriya noblemen and their troops therein, the fort could not be captured easily, and the siege necessarily became protracted. Kṛṣṇadēvarāya is said to have remained there 'three months without being able to capture it;' and in the end the fort is said to have been taken 'more by reason of his numbers than by force of arms.'† The contemporary literature and the

* *Sources*, pp. 123-4.

† *Forgotten Empire*, p. 318. Of course, this is based on the justifiable assumption that Nuniz's description of the siege of Koṇḍapalli applies to Koṇḍavīḍu and *vice versa*. A curious mistake in the chronicle of Nuniz, which has been the source of much confusion, must be noticed here. Nuniz attributes the events that happened at Koṇḍapalli to Koṇḍavīḍu and *vice versa*. He says that at Koṇḍapalli 'were all the chiefs of the kingdom'; and that Kṛṣṇarāya took captive at the place a wife of the Gajapati, 'one of his sons who was a prince, and seven principal captains of the kingdom.' (*F.E.*, pp. 318-19). This took place, as a matter of fact, not at Koṇḍapalli but at Koṇḍavīḍu. The *Āmuktamālyada* asserts that all the *Pātrās* (nobles) of Utkala were assembled at Koṇḍavīḍu (*Sources*, p. *136*); and the *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* adds that Kṛṣṇarāya saved the life of Vīrabhadra, the son of the Gajapati, at Koṇḍavīḍu. (*Ibid*, p. 140). Inscriptions corroborate this evidence. In the Śrīśailam epigraph of Kṛṣṇarāya it is said that at Koṇḍavīḍu, he captured not only the Gajapati's son Vīrabhadra but also seven important noblemen *viz.*, Kumāra Hamvīrapātra's son Naraharidēva, Rācūri Mallūkhān, Uddaṇḍa Khān, Janyāla Kasuvāpātra, Pūsapāṭi Rāciraju, Śrīnātharāju

inscriptions furnish interesting details of the siege. According to the *Āmuktamālyada*, all the Uriya noblemen, who were assembled in the fort of Koṇḍavīḍu, "went to heaven without any wounds on their bodies."* That is, their death appears to have been brought about by starvation. This view is confirmed by the Mangaḷagiri pillar inscription which asserts that Sāḷuva Timma, who was actually responsible for the reduction of the fort, starved the Uriya noblemen to surrender. "When Sāḷva (or the hawk) surnamed Timma...having captured the swan-like kings appointed by Gajapati at Koṇḍavīḍu, is planning an attack (on the fort), the hostile princes, secretly absconding, tormented by hunger and thirst, are searching for herbs and the (rain-giving) clouds, in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth."† Kṛṣṇarāya blockaded the fort. According to an epigraph at Lower Ahōbaḷam, "he surrounded the fort with his army, and having erected movable wooden platforms to enable his soldiers to stand on a level with the defenders and demolish the walls, he scaled them on all sides and captured the fort."‡ Many of the Uriya noblemen who survived the siege were taken prisoners. Of these, Vīrabhadrarāya, son of the Gajapati Pratāparudra, Naraharidēva, son of Kumāra Hamvīrapātra, Lakṣmipatirāju, son of Śrīnātharāju Rāmarāju, Rācūri Mallū Khān, Uddaṇḍa Khān,§ Janyāvula

Lakṣmīpatirāju, and Paścimabālacandra Mahāpātra. (*Mack. Mss.*, 15-3-6, p. 17). Again, Nuniz states that while Kṛṣṇarāya was besieging Koṇḍavīḍu, on hearing that the Gajapati was approaching with a large army, he went out four leagues from the place to oppose him, and arrived at a large 'salt water river' (*F E.* p. 317.) Now, there is 'no such river' as pointed by Sewell, 'within twelve miles or thereabouts from Koṇḍavīḍu'. (*Ibid*, n. 4). The place referred to must be Koṇḍapalli and not Koṇḍavīḍu. The river which Kṛṣṇarāya came across within four leagues must have been the river Kṛṣṇā which flows about 10 miles from Koṇḍapalli. "Salt" may perhaps mean, as Sewell puts it, 'brackish'; or more probably it is due to a mistake of Nuniz or his informant.

* *Sources*, p. 136.

† *E. I.* vi, pp. 128-9

Sapt=āṅg-ōpēta-śakti-tritaya caturu=pāy=aika mantr=īśa Sālve
Timm=ākhye Koṇḍavīḍyām Gajapati-nihitān rāja-haṁsān gṛhitvā
Dhāṭim=ātikamānē para-nṛpati-khagāḥ kṣut=pipās=āti-khinnāḥ
Śāk=ābdān mārgayantī giri-pura-jaladhi-kṣmāsugūḍhāḥ pralīnāḥ.

‡ *L.R.* 15, pp. 431-33.

§ See Appendix at the end of the chapter.

Kasuvāpātra and Timma(?) Bālacandrapātra were the most important.* In addition to these seven noblemen, Nuniz mentions a wife of the Gajapati among the prisoners.† It is probably to this fact that Peddana alludes, when he speaks of Kṛṣṇarāya's frequent invasions against the king of Kaḷinga in the north and the carrying off of his women as prisoners of war.‡ The lives of the prisoners were spared, and they were sent 'by road to Bysnaga.'§

After the subjugation of the fort and the district of Koṇḍavīḍu, Kṛṣṇarāya entrusted its administration to Sāḷuva Timma, as it was mainly due to his exertions that the work of conquest was accomplished. The garrison of the fort was placed under the command of Timmarāju Pina-Koṇḍrāju, a scion of the Āravīḍu family (122). Having thus made the necessary arrangements for the administration and defence of the conquered territory, Kṛṣṇarāya proceeded to Amarāvati, accompanied by his queens, Tirumaladēvī and Cinnādēvī and offered worship to god Amarēśvara.¶ Hence he repaired to Śrīśailam, on his way to his capital, and made magnificent gifts to the shrine of the god Mallikārjuna.‖

(iii) *Koṇḍapalli.*—Kṛṣṇarāya did not remain at Vijayanagara for a long time. Having probably attended to the urgent affairs of the kingdom, he started once again from the capital to join the army. He visited, on the way, Ahōbaḷam, and presented to god Narasimha valuable jewels and money. | The campaign appears to have begun with the capture of Bezwada on the Kṛṣṇā, a city which Kṛṣṇarāya made the base of his military operations in Telingāṇa on the west and Kaḷinga in the north-east. Koṇḍapalli, a strong fort with lofty walls equipped with powerful apparatus of defence, stood in its neighbourhood within a few miles in the north-west. It was

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* *L.R.* 15. pp. 431–33. † *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 318-9.

‡ *Manucaritra* iii: 142. *Kaḷing=ānganā-bandigrāha*. The commentator takes the terms '*Kaḷing=āngana*' to mean the women belonging to the king of Kaḷinga.

§ *Forgotten Empire*, p. 319. ¶ *E.I.* vii, pp. 20; *Mack. Mss.* 15-3-6, p. 17.

‖ 18 of 1915. | 64 of 1915.

guarded by a strong garrison under Praharēśvara Pātra;* and he was assisted by Bōḍajanna Mahāpātra, Bijlikhān and other officers.† Kṛṣṇarāya marched against it and sat down around its walls with the object of seizing it. However, Pratāparudra Gajapati on getting the information of the investment of Koṇḍapalli, proceeded against the besiegers with a large army consisting of 'one thousand three hundred elephants, twenty thousand horsemen' and 'five hundred thousand foot soldiers'. Having learnt that the Gajapati was marching against him with a vast host, Kṛṣṇarāya left a force around Koṇḍapalli to keep the garrison engaged, and proceeded towards the river with the bulk of his army to give battle to him. While he was attempting to ford the river, the passage of his army was obstructed by the Gajapati; and a great battle ensued in which he defeated the Uriya forces and put the Gajapati to flight.‡ Kṛṣṇadēva then returned to his camp around the walls of Koṇḍapalli and pushed forward the siege vigorously. After an investment of two months, the fort capitulated, and the commandant with his lieutenants became a prisoner in the hands of the victor.

The capture of Koṇḍapalli was a prelude to the conquest of Telingāṇa, which acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gajapati at this time. The Velamas who dominated this region during the last century had vanished; and a large part of the territory was under the sway of Shitāb Khān (Śītāpati) of Bhōgikula who conquered it from the Muhammadans probably with the aid of the Gajapati at the beginning of the 16th century.§ His original capital was Kambhammeṭṭu in the Warangal district, and on the conquest of Warangal about A.D. 1504, he shifted the capital to that city. The famous forts of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarkoṇḍa also passed into his hands some time before this date. Although Shitāb (Cittāpa) Khān is not mentioned in the records describing Kṛṣṇarāya's Telingāṇa campaign, they allude to the subjugation of several forts

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* *Sources*, p. 137.

† *T.D.I.* iii, 80.

‡ *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 317–18.

§ *H.A.S.* No. 9, p. 15.

belonging to him. The important forts which Kṛṣṇarāya captured in this region are Anantagiri, Uṇḍrakoṇḍa, Urlagoṇḍa, Aruvapalli, Jallipalli, Kandikonda, Kappaluvāyi, Nallagoṇḍa, Kambhammeṭṭu, Kanakagiri and Śaṁka(ra)giri.* Dēvarakoṇḍa must be added to this list.† The *Kaifiyat of Anumakoṇḍa* states that during this campaign Kṛṣṇarāya had also captured the fort of Warangal (124). Though this is not unlikely, there is no other evidence in support of this statement. Most of these places are included in the Nalgoṇḍa and the Warangal districts of the Nizam's Dominions. The subjugation of these forts must have been followed by the conquest of the territory dependent upon them. It may, therefore, be assumed that Kṛṣṇarāya subdued the whole of Telingāṇa before he advanced upon Kaḷinga.

(iv) *Simhādri* :—The Simhādri expedition was very probably a continuation of the Telingāṇa campaign. According to Peddana, the fire of Kṛṣṇarāya's prowess 'having crept into the Vēgi country through the Jammi Valley, burnt it; reduced Kōna to ashes; extended to Koṭṭām, melted the bulk of Kanakagiri (golden hill), boiled the waters of the Gautamī (the Gōdāvarī,) and finally set fire to Potnūr." ‡ Though some places like Kanakagiri which are said to be in the Telugāṇya § are mentioned in the passage just quoted, the progress of the fire of prowess may be roughly taken to have followed the route of Kṛṣṇarāya's victorious army. The details of warfare have not come down to us, though Peddana alludes to Kṛṣṇarāya's conquest of all the cities of the king of Kaḷinga in the country between the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Gōdāvarī. (116-b) One of the cities of this region which Kṛṣṇarāya conquered was Rājahmandry. ¶

The progress of Kṛṣṇarāya's army was not, however, uninterrupted. According to the *Rāyavācakam*, the army was

* *A. S. R.* 1908–9, p. 179.
† *Sources*, p. 140.
‡ *Ibid*, p. 135.
§ *A. S. R.* 1908–9, p. 179.
¶ *S. I. I.* vi, 694.

obstructed by the enemy when it was attempting to cross the defiles in the hills to the south of Poṭnūr. Cittāpa Khān occupied the passes with 60,000 mounted archers, and fiercely attacked the Vijayanagara army, which was consequently thrown into utmost confusion. The Karnāṭa *kaijītam* cavalry, however, mounted the hills in the rear of Cittāpa Khān's army on both sides of the pass and attacked it with arrows, swords and spears. Unable to resist this unexpected attack, Cittāpa Khān's men fled in confusion, pursued by the Vijayanagara forces, until they took refuge in a neighbouring fort. Kṛṣṇarāya is said to have posted 30,000 infantry to guard the pass, and marched with the remaining forces to Poṭnūr-Simhādri, devastating the territory of the Gajapati along the road.* There he set up a pillar of victory, which is mentioned by Peddana, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, Nuniz and other writers and returned to his capital by way of Rājahmandry.

(v) *Expedition against Cuttack*:—According to Peddana, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, after setting up a pillar of victory at Poṭṭanūru (Poṭnūr), led an expedition against the Gajapati, when he laid waste the country along his route and set fire even to the Gajapati's capital. The fire of his prowess is said to have 'roasted the (Seven) Māḍes, reduced the town of Oḍḍādi to ashes, and burnt Cuttack forcing thereby the Gajapati to seek safety in flight.'† This statement of Peddana has been recently called into question. It is pointed out that the statement is poetical and that it is " as close to facts as poetry can be to history". Moreover, it is asserted that an expedition of the kind is extremely unlikely; for, in the first place, it is against the principles of military strategy; and secondly, " setting fire to her father's capital is by no means the best way of wooing the Gajapati's daughter."‡ Therefore, it is contended that having come to the end of the campaign at Simhādri, Kṛṣṇarāya entered into a treaty with the Gajapati, 'set up the pillar of victory and returned' to his capital.§ Whatever be the force

* *Sources*, p. 124. † *Ibid*, p. 135.

‡ *The Yet-remembered Ruler &c.*, p. 17. § *Ibid.*

of these arguments, there is indubitable evidence to show that the Kaḷinga war did not come to an end with the setting up of a pillar of victory at Simhādri. On the contrary, an expedition of the Vijayanagara army, whether led by the king in person or not, did reach Cuttack and deliver an attack upon it.

The narrative of Nuniz proves conclusively (1) that the Kaḷinga war did not come to an end with the planting of the pillar of victory at Simhādri; and (2) that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya had not then concluded any treaty with the Gajapati. Kṛṣṇarāya reached Simhādri, where "he halted for six months" waiting for him in the field, "but he never came...And he commanded to engrave on it (the temple) an inscription which says:—'Perhaps when these letters are decayed, the King of Orya will give battle to King of Bisnaga. If the King of Orya erases them, his wife shall be given to the smiths who shoe the horses of the King of Bisnaga.

"And after this was done, he returned..."* Kṛṣṇarāya returned to his capital; and very probably he did not once again go to Kaḷinga to join the army which must have remained there in occupation of the conquered territory He appears to have left Simhādri after 29 March, A.D. 1516, † halted on his way for some time at Rājahmandry and Bezwada, and reached Vijayanagara on 9 Nov, A.D. 1516, when he made a gift of the village of Maṇḍya to a certain Gōvindārya.‡ Then he started on a pilgrimage to the holy shrines in the south,§ and returned to the capital some time before 19 June, A.D. 1517.¶

The army which Kṛṣṇarāya left at Simhādri was not idle. Under the command of one of the officers, an expedition proceeded towards the north. An epigraph at Kommūr in the Guntur district dated 12 March, A.D. 1517 refers to the conquests of Kṛṣṇarāya 'as far as Kaṭakam.'‖ The court musician, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa also states that after erecting of the pillar

* Nuniz: *Forgotten Empire*, p. 319.
† 243 of 1899; *S. I. I.* vi, 694.
‡ *E. C.* iii, Mandya, 115.
§ 174 of 1892; *S. I. I.* vi, 622; 641 of 1919.
¶ *E. C.* xii, Pg. 4.
‖ 824 of 1922.

of victory at Simhādri Kṛṣṇarāya won a victory over the Gajapati, and 'espoused his daughter together with his Śrī (prosperity)' (116-a). Cuttack appears to have fallen into the hands of the invaders. Peddana alludes to the battering of the 'bell-metal doors of the Gajapati's fort.' * It is therefore evident that after Kṛṣṇarāya's return from Simhādri, the army which he left behind proceeded against Orissa, and after laying the country waste advanced upon Cuttack and sacked it.

The concluding phase of the war may now be briefly narrated. The Gajapati who was defeated in every battle and lost almost the whole of his kingdom had to sue for peace. He gave his daughter to Kṛṣṇarāya in marriage and obtained in return all the territory to the north of the Kṛṣṇā which the Rāya had taken from him during the war. Thus ended one of the most brilliant episodes in the military history of India during the 16th century.

Rāicūr:—Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's war against Ismā'īl 'Ādil K͟hān and the capture of Rāicūr from him are elaborately described by Nuniz. A few points in his account demand reconsideration in the light of the fresh material that has accumulated in recent years.

(1) *The date of the battle*:—Nuniz states that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya conquered Ismā'īl 'Ādil K͟hān 'in the month of May, on the new moon day, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-two' † Sewell has conclusively proved that this date is wrong and that Nuniz 'made a mistake in the year and should have written "1520"'. ‡ Therefore, the "great battle took place on Saturday, May 19, A. D. 1520." § The date fixed by Sewell is shown to be correct by an allusion in one of the inscriptions of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's reign which has not been noticed so far. Kanṭhamarāju-Singarāju, while describing his pious benefactions at various places, asserts that he built in the month of Śrāvaṇa of the year Vṛṣa a shrine and a well for the

* *Sources*, p. 153.
† *Forgotten Empire*, p. 326.
‡ *Ibid*, p. 140.
§ *Ibid*, p. 147.

god Ranganātha of Rāicūr"*. This date corresponds to July, A.D. 1521. If an officer of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya could build a temple in Rāicūr in July, A.D. 1521, that fort must have been in the possession of his master at that time. Since the construction of the temple and the excavation of the well would require some time for their execution, Rāicūr must have been in the possession of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya for at least some months before July A.D. 1521. This is in agreement with the date fixed by Sewell and establishes finally that Rāicūr was captured by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya in A.D. 1520.

(2) Another point that deserves consideration pertains to the possession of Rāicūr before Kṛṣṇarāya's campaign of A.D. 1520. Who was in possession of the fort? Was it Ismā'īl 'Adil Khān or Kṛṣṇdēvarāya? Historians are divided in their opinion on the subject. According to Ferishta, the fort was in the possession, at the time, of the king of Vijayanagara; and he came to oppose Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān who came to recapture it, defeated him, and put him to flight. † Nuniz on the contrary, asserts that it was in the possession of the 'Ādil Khān; and on hearing that Kṛṣṇarāya had laid siege to the fort, he came with a large army to drive him away; but was defeated in battle and put to flight. ‡ Modern scholars who have studied the question are also not agreed in their opinion. Some accept Nuniz's account as genuine and point out that Ferishta is a later writer and that "there are some inherent improbabilities in Firishta's narrative". § On the other hand, other writers reject Nuniz's account and believe that there is "some evidence to support the statement of Ferishta and *ipso facto,* to descredit that of Nuniz in this particular"; ¶ and that "Kṛṣṇa's battle of Rāicūr was a successful beating back of an invasion from Bijāpūr to recover the possession of it, as

* *S. I. I.* iv, 789. "*Adhi Vṛṣa-varṣam-adhi Śrāvaṇam-adhi Rācūru-Jagadēka-nāthasya Ranganāthasya varālayēna saha vāṭika......*" "*Rācūri Śrīrangarājula guḍinni bhāvinni kaṭṭimci*".

† Brigg's *Ferishta* iii, pp. 48–49. ‡ *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 325, 334–42.

§ *Ibid*, p. 153.

¶ S. K. Ayyangar : *The Yet-remembered Ruler &c.*, p. 22.

Ferishta has it, though it is quite possible that in the course of the campaign, they succeeded at first in occupying the fortress" *.

It must be pointed out in this connection that Nuniz is not the only author who states that Kṛṣṇarāya captured Rāicūr from Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān. Castanheda, who was in India in A.D. 1529, declares that "while Sequeira was absent at the Red Sea war broke out between the king of Vijayanagar and the 'Ādil Shāh, at the close of which the latter was defeated and put to flight, while the Hindus took Rāicūr and other places." "Now, Sequeira left Goa for the Red Sea on February 13, A.D. 1520."† The testimony of these two foreigners, who were in or about Vijayanagara during the life-time of Kṛṣṇarāya, makes it clear that when Kṛṣṇarāya led his armies towards Rāicūr in A.D. 1520 that fort was in the possession of the 'Ādil Khān. Their statements are further corroborated by the evidence of Kṛṣṇarāya's court musician who also mentions the name of the place of battle in which his master had overthrown the 'Ādil Khān: "Kṛṣṇa conquered the Gajapati and espoused his daughter with his Śrī (prosperity); *subsequently he attacked the Yavana king Sapāda (Savāyi) who was encamped at Gobbūru, put him to flight and captured his elephants, horses and his unequalled fortress, Rāicūr*" (116-*a*). There is thus definite contemporary evidence, both foreign and Indian, to prove that Rāicūr was in the possession of the 'Ādil Khān, when Kṛṣṇadēvarāya led his armies to capture it. In the light of such clear contemporary evidence, no importance need be attached to the statement of a dubious historian like Ferishta. This, however, raises the interesting question, how and when Kṛṣṇarāya lost his hold upon Rāicūr, which he conquered in A. D. 1512. Although no information is available at present on this subject, it is not unlikely that Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān succeeded in recapturing it, while Kṛṣṇarāya was busy with the affairs of the Kaḷinga War.

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* S. K. Ayyangar : *The Yet-remembered Ruler &c.*, p. 20; cf. *T. D. E. R.*, p. 183.

† *Forgotten Empire*, p. 142.

Gulburga Campaign :—Kṛṣṇadēvarāya invaded the kingdom of Bijāpūr once again in A. D. 1523. It was due to the machinations of Asad K͟hān Lārī who was sent to Vijayanagara by the Bijāpūr court for concluding a treaty. Nuniz briefly describes this invasion. Kṛṣṇarāya proceeded to the northern extremity of his kingdom expecting, according to an undertaking given by Asād K͟hān, to meet the 'Ādil K͟hān or his mother; but as he did not find them, he was enraged; and in order to teach them a lesson, "he entered the kingdom of Daquem, and marched against the city of Culbergura and destroyed it and razed the fortress to the ground, and the same with many other places." * Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa gives some more information about this war. "This great king (Kṛṣṇarāya) crossed the Kṛṣṇā river and consigned to flames the whole of the Yavana country (the territory ruled by Muhammadans); he conquered the fortress cities called Fīrōzābād, Asimbād (Hasanbād) and Sagar" (116-*a*). The capture of Sagar seems to have been preceded by a great battle in which a large number of the Muhammadan soldiers were put to death. † Then Kṛṣṇarāya marched against Kalubarige which was defended by Sapāda (the 'Ādil K͟hān) and after a great battle captured it (116-a).

Kṛṣṇarāya found in the fort of Gulburga three Bahmanī princes who were detained there in a prison by Ismā'īl 'Ādil K͟hān. He liberated them and treated them nobly as befitted their rank. On this point both Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa and Nuniz are in total agreement. "Having wrested Kalubarige by force of arms from the Persian", says Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, "he (Kṛṣṇarāya) liberated (from prison) three sons of the Sultān who had been harassed by the Sapāda (the Savāyi)" (116*a*). Nuniz corroborates this statement. "In the city of Calbergara, in the fortress belonging to it," says he, "the King (Kṛṣṇarāya) took three sons of the King of Daquem." The 'Ādil K͟hān "kept these three brothers prisoners in that

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* Nuniz: *Forgotten Empire*, p. 357.

† *Āmuktamālyada*: *Sources*, p. 136.

fortress", because he "wanted to make King one of his brothers-in-law, who was a bastard son of the King of Daquem and had married one of Yadallcão's ('Ādil Khān's) sisters." * By this time, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh II whom Kṛṣṇarāya had restored to his throne in A.D. 1512 was dead. Therefore, he set up the eldest of these princes on the throne of his father, and forced the nobles who were the subordinates of his father including the 'Ādil Khān to pay him homage and taking the remaining two princes with him, he returned to Vijayanagara. He showed much honour to them and "gave them each one an allowance, to each one every year fifty thousand gold *pardaos*." †

Some unidentifiable campaigns:—In the introduction to his *Manucaritra*, Peddana states that Udayācala became the Krauñca to the warlike sports of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's youth (*kumārata*); that the chief of Nāvāḍa, Śakandhara, and the Sindhurādhyakṣa, being afraid of his sword, paid tribute to him; and that the country as far as the Pañcagauḍa became the open ground of his exercises in fencing (116-*b*). Of these the Udayācala and the Sindhurādhyakṣa are, as pointed out by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, identical with Udayagiri in the Nellore district and the Gajapati respectively. ‡ The chief of Nāvāḍa and Śakandhara as well as the Pañcagauḍa

* Nuniz : *Forgotten Empire*, p. 358.

† Nuniz : *Forgotten Empire*, p. 358. Sewell seems to have been much perplexed by this passage. "This passage", says he, "does not seem very exact from an historical standpoint". (*Ibid*, p. 358, n. 1.) "We hear nothing of this from Firishta. But we know, that Bahmanī Sultān Maḥmūd II, who died in 1518, had three sons, Aḥmad, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and Walī Ūllah, the first of whom became Sultān in December 1517, the second in 1521, the third in the same year; in all cases only nominally." (*F. E.*, p. 157, n. 1.)

The authenticity of the information conveyed by Nuniz in the passage under consideration is proved by a contemporary Hindu writer, Bhaṇḍāru Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, the court musician of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Like Nuniz, he also states that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya had set at liberty at Gulburga three sons of the Sultān whom the 'Ādil Khān had kept there in confinement. Moreover, according to the *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*, Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī II had four sons, not three as Ferishta and those who follow him would have us believe. There is no reason for accepting the opinion of Ferishta in preference to reliable contemporary evidence.

‡ *Lakṣmanarāya Vyāsāvaḷi*, p. 46.

are not yet properly identified. The chief of Nāvāḍa is also mentioned by Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa in his *Vasucaritra,* * though his identity cannot yet be established owing to lack of information. Mr. Lakshmana Rao is very probably right in considering that Śakandhara is a Sanskritised form of the name Sikandar. The identification of this Sikandar with Sikandar Shāh, who sat on the throne of Gujarāt for a few months in A.D. 1526 suggested by him, is, indeed, interesting. His interpretation of the phrase *āpañca-gauḍa-dhātrīpada* as the country extending as far as the Five Gauḍas is also plausible; but his contention that Kṛṣṇdēvarāya invaded Gujarāt in A.D. 1526 and defeated its ruler Sikandar Khān † needs confirmation from other sources. Sayyid 'Alī, no doubt, asserts that, after the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh II in A.D. 1518, the Mussalman territories were subjected to frequent attacks of the infidels of Vijayanagara. "When the Sulṭān departed this life, all at once anarchy and confusion found their way into the country of the Dakkan...Consequently the infidels ofthe Vijayanagar, seizing the property, used every year to make raids into the territory of Islām, and much injury used to be caused by those infidels to the country of the Mussalmans.

"Majlis-i-Rafi' 'Ādil Khān who after that became entitled ''Ādil Shāh' and Masnad-i-'Ālī Malik Kuṭb-ul-Mulk who sat on the Kuṭb Shāhi throne, since they were in the proximity of the country of the infidels helplessly walked in the path of gentleness and humility in their relations with the idolators of that country. Of course the injury and malice of that tribe of infidels *reached in a greater degree the capital, Aḥmadnagar and all the territory of that place....*" ‡

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* *Vasucaritra*, 1 : 15. *Nāvāḍa-pati pampina-yamūlya-kaṭakamul karta-pēruga bad=āgramula-benaga.*

† *Lakṣmaṇarāya Vyāsāvaḷi*, pp. 45-47. It is interesting to note that a Sikandar is mentioned as one of the adversaries of the Gajapati Pratāparudra in a Sanskrit drama called the *Jagannātha Vallabhanāṭakam* (*M.G.O.M. Library* R. 4198). The Velicerla grant of Pratāparudra Gajapati refers to him as '*Pañcagauḍ-ādhi=nāyaka* (*J. A. H. R. S.* ix, p. 56) The '*āpañca-gauḍa-dhātrīpada*' of Peddana perhaps refers to the dominions of the Gajapati which Kṛṣṇarāya invaded.

‡ *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, (*Silsila-i-Makhṭūṭāt-i-Fārsiya*, No. 2), p. 166 ; *I. A.* xxviii, pp. 322-323.

But the passage is vague, and until information of a more precise character is brought forward, it is not possible to assert definitely that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya invaded Gujarāt.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya as a general:—Kṛṣṇadēvarāya knew no defeat. Whenever he took the command of the army in person, he was uniformly victorious; and he swept away his enemies, Hindus and the Muslims alike. His triumphant armies entered the capitals of most of his enemies. The success which uniformly attended upon his arms must be attributed to his capacity for organisation and his skilful generalship. He knew how best to pool his resources and to utilise them in a manner most advantageous to himself. On the field of battle, he exhibited amazing resourcefulness in overcoming obstacles. He smashed rocks and boulders to make a road for his soldiers to reach the fort at Udayagiri; * set up wooden-platforms around the fort at Koṇḍavīḍu to enable his men to fight on an equal footing with the enemy in the fort; † cut canals to drain the waters of a river swollen with winter-floods, to seize the stronghold where the rebel chief of Catuir, trusting to the surrounding arms of a flooded river, took refuge: ‡ and put to the sword his own soldiers who turned their back on the enemy at Rāicūr.§ Moreover, he usually commanded his troops in person and showed extraordinary courage in situations of gravest danger. When the 'two forward-divisions' which he despatched against the 'Ādil Khān on the battle-field of Gobbūr retired in confusion hotly pursued by the enemy, and disaster appeared imminent, he stood firm, and asked his officers whether they would join him in charging the advancing Muslim cavalry. There was an immediate response. To show his soldiers that he was determined to win or die, he removed from his finger, the signet-ring and entrusting it to one of his pages, commanded him to deliver it to his queens so that they might commit *sati* in the event of his death. Then springing on the back of his horse, he put himself at the head of the

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* *Forgotten Empire*, p. 316.

† 18 of 1915.

‡ *Forgotten Empire*, p. 321.

§ *Ibid*, p. 339.

remaining divisions of his army and led them to victory.* A similar incident is related about his conduct at the sack of Gulburga.† Coupled with personal bravery, the consideration which Kṛṣṇarāya showed to his soldiers made him the idol of his army. At the conclusion of every battle, he would go into the field of battle looking for the wounded. He would see that they were properly cared for, and in the case of warriors who specially distinguished themselves in the battle, he would bestow particular attention upon their condition, so that there might be no delay or negligence in providing them with the necessary medical help.‡ These qualities won him the affection of the rank and file of the army; and the soldiers, as well as the officers, were prepared to throw themselves into the jaws of death in executing his commands.

As an administrator (139):—Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was a capable and wise ruler. He was a monarch who cherished the welfare of his subjects and the prosperity of the kingdom. He describes the principles of administration in his *Āmuktamālyada*. They are not a mere resumé of the maxims on *daṇḍanīti* which he might have gathered together from treatises on politics available to him. They are practical and embody the methods of administration that he followed.

Contents of Kṛṣṇarāya's rājanīti: Dharma:—Like all the writers on Hindu polity Kṛṣṇarāya was a firm believer in the universal *dharma*. "The worlds such as this earth *Bhuva* and *Svarga* are built on the foundations of *dharma*." "The birth of (the gods like) Varuṇa, Vaiśvānara, Vāyu, Vaiśravaṇa and Vāsava is due to the accumulated merit of the virtuous conduct of several (previous) births." Therefore, "a crowned monarch should govern the state, keeping the *dharma* in view."§ He does not, however, explain what he means by the *dharma*. He probably takes the term to mean 'the reign of law' on which the established order of things is based.

* *Forgotten Empire*, p. 338.
† *L. R.* 39, p. 12.
‡ *Ibid.*
§ *Ām.* 4: 285.

The origin of Kingship:—God (*Prajānātha,* lord of the people) has created the king specially to govern the people (*prajāpālana*). His office, which is analogous to the position of god, has been recognised by the Vedas. He should, therefore, endeavour to remove the troubles of this world in spite of difficulties. Otherwise, he fails to justify his own existence. "Unless an anointed sovereign, who has been created by god (*Prajānātha*) specially for the purpose of governing the people (*prajāpālana*), who is known by the names of *Virāt* and *Samrāt,* and who is equal to god, endures hardships and removes the troubles of this earth, can his birth be said to be fruitful?" *

The duties of a King:—The duties of a king are primarily two in number, protection of the people and the punishment of the wrong-doers. † A king should protect his subjects and redress their grievances; ‡ for, 'the subjects of a state desire the prosperity of a king, who wishes to promote the welfare of the state'. He should not be indifferent to the wishes of his subjects, as god, who is immanent in all people from Brahmans downwards, would certainly fulfil the unanimous desire of his creatures.§ He should not employ in his service officers who oppress the people, ¶ and should endeavour to promote their happiness by providing their lands with irrigation facilities and demanding from them low taxes. $

A king must have power to command and punish, || for the maintenance of law and order in the country depends upon the fear of punishment which the breach of law may involve. "The devotion of a wife to her husband, the observance, by men and women, of the rule of consanguinity, the self-control of the ascetic, the obedience of the lower to the upper castes, and the faithfulness of the servant to the master are all due to the fear of the punishment which the king may

* *Ām.* 4 : 285.
† *Ibid.*
‡ *Ibid,* 4 : 204.
§ *Ām.* 4 : 205.
¶ *Ibid,* 4 : 237.
$ *Ibid,* 4 : 236.
|| *Ibid,* 4 : 206.

inflict." * He must suppress the violence of the mighty by inflicting punishment; he should kindly protect all (people) and (maintain) the order of the castes, putting an end to irregular practices. † The king maintains the law (*dharma*) by killing (criminals). ‡

Recruitment to services:—The rules which Kṛṣṇadēvarāya laid down for the recruitment to the services of the state are interesting. He shows considerable partiality to Brahmans. "A king", says he, "who appoints a Brahman to a high office, prospers."§ "If a learned Brahman who is afraid of injustice, who has studied political science, and principles of practical administration, who is above fifty and below seventy in age, and whose ancestors are free from (hereditary) diseases is induced by the king to accept the office of the minister and discharge his duties, a single day is enough for the various branches of the royal administration to obtain stability." ¶ If a Brahman of this description were not available, then the king should transact the business of the state himself, though he might not always be successful. $ The preference to Brahmans which Kṛṣṇarāya manifests is not only confined to the ministerial services; it extends to the army also. He enjoins that all the forts should be placed under the command of Brahman officers. "Entrust (the command of) the forts to Brahmans in whom you have confidence." "A king", says he, "who appoints as the governors of the forts honest, loyal, and warlike Brahmans learned in the Vedas, and dependent upon his family for generations... sleeps placing his hand upon his heart *i.e.* peacefully." ‖ Kṛṣṇarāya gives two reasons for the excessive regard which he shows to Brahmans. In the first place, a Brahman "stands at the post of duty facing even difficulties, either to avoid the ridicule of the *Kṣatriya* and the *Śūdra* officers or in emulation of the other Brahmans in the king's service." | Secondly,

* *Ām.* 4 : 277.
† *Ibid*, 4 : 270.
‡ *Ibid*, 4 : 278.
§ *Ibid*, 4 : 217.
¶ *Ibid*, 4 : 211.
$ *Ibid*, 4 : 212.
‖ *Ibid*, 4 : 207, 261.
| *Ibid*, 4 : 217.

if the territory well protected by the forts is given to any one but a Brahman, he may turn against the king.* And even to a Brahman a large army and much territory should not be given, because he might lose the fear of royal authority. † Besides, there is a special reason for the preference which Kṛṣṇarāya has shown for the appointment of Brahmans in the military service. The South Indian Brahmans were born fighters; from the time of the Western Cāḷukyas onwards they entered the army in large numbers and brought credit to themselves and to their community by their distinguished service. Most of the *daṇḍanāyakas* under the Cāḷukyas, the Yādavas, the Hoysalas, the Kākatīyas, the Rāyas of Vijayanagara and the Nāyak kings of Madura and Tanjore were Brahmans. And Kṛṣṇarāya seems to have been influenced by the long military tradition of the Brahman community, when he lays down the dictum that Brahmans should be entrusted with positions of responsibility in the army. However, he excludes men of ignoble origin and untrained under a preceptor, dwellers among the hunters, liars, *ātatāyins,* strangers, men of unrighteous conduct, and fearless perpetrators of crime, although they happen to be Brahmans by birth. ‡ He is aware of the fact that the services of the members of the other communities are also indispensable; therefore, he declares that they should be employed in the service of the state, especially in the army, 'as they are also necessary.'§

Ministers :—The qualifications which Kṛṣṇarāya demands of a minister are, indeed, very high. In order that a person might be eligible to a ministership, he should, in the first instance, be a Brahman. Moreover, he must be proficient in the knowledge of the theory and the practice of government; he must be above fifty and below seventy years in age, and his ancestors should be free from hereditary diseases. ¶ Although Kṛṣṇarāya expresses the opinion that a

* *Ām.* 4 : 255. † *Ibid*, 4: 207. ‡ *Ibid*, 4 : 209.
§ *Ibid*, 4: 205. ¶ *Ibid*, 4 : 211.

king who appoints a person of this description as his minister is bound to be happy, he recognises the possibility of the existence of evil even among them. He describes the progress of the power of evil ministers briefly: "The bad and faithless ministers", says he, "ally themselves with the outside enemy and encourage free-booters in the country. When the king is caught in difficulties, they do not discharge their duties promptly; but having established their influence elsewhere, they conduct themselves in such a manner as to make it appear that they alone are protectors (of the king)."* They "persuade (the king) to offer (rewards) to their dependents; and dissuade him from rewarding others. Moreover, they induce him to promise (rewards) to people, but prevent its fulfilment, so that the people might not approach him believing him to be undependable." †

To check the power of these overgrown ministers, Kṛṣṇarāya suggests two remedies: (1) "(A capable outsider) should be made an equal of these (bad ministers); he will check their power like a powerful drug which strengthens the appetite spoilt by the union of *kapha* and other diseases." ‡ (2) The king should keep control over the treasury and army; and the power of these ministers vanishes of its own accord. §

The King and his Courtiers :—A king has no friends; men serve him only to make a living. They turn against him, if any part of their emolument is decreased. However, it is not wise to abandon them altogether. A king must not relax his hold upon his dependents. He should treat them kindly, and exact work from them skilfully placing, however, no faith in them. ¶ The courtiers of a king fall into three clases: (1) friends, (2) friends as well as enemies, and (3) constant enemies. $ "Physicians, astrologers, learned men, poets and *purōhits* are the king's friends; the people employed by the king

* *Ām.* 4: 228.
† *Ibid*, 4: 229.
‡ *Ibid*, 4: 230.
§ *Ibid*, 4: 231.
¶ *Ibid*, 4: 233.
$ *Ibid*, 4: 272.

for the collection of revenue and discharging other duties are both friends and enemies according to circumstances; and the people who are desirous of getting back the wealth confiscated by the king by way of punishment are his perpetual enemies. Therefore, it is only right that he should skilfully conduct himself towards them as becoming their disposition." *

A king must proceed with caution in increasing the status of his dependents ; for 'no one who is at first raised to a high position, remembers his former humble condition, if he is reduced subsequently'; he becomes enraged instead. The king must watch carefully the progress of his dependents and exact work from them on all suitable occasions increasing their status only by degrees. † It is not possible to execute any work by means of money alone. The willing co-operation of several nobles is equally necessary. To secure their help, the king should treat them with liberality, kindness and truthfulness; ‡ and assign them lands without trespassing the bounds of moderation. § He must encourage rivalry among his nobles and officers. In their anxiety to seek their own advancement, they lay bare the secrets of one another, thereby letting the king know their true attitude. Moreover, by competing with one another to obtain royal favour, they perform loyal services and abstain from disloyal activities. ¶

A king must not give heed to tale-bearers; $ but he should not turn them away on mere suspicion, by speaking to them harshly. If, on careful investigation, the king finds that a person is given to tale-bearing, he should leave him alone without discharging him, however, from service. ‖ A king also must know how to discriminate between a good and a bad servant. |

The Council:—The council and its functions are not defined. From the statement that "kings generally summon

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* *Am.* 4 : 273.
† *Ibid*, 4 : 208.
‡ *Ibid*, 4 : 215.
§ *Ibid*, 4 : 261.
¶ *Ibid*, 4 : 254.
$ *Ibid*, 4 : 252.
‖ *Ibid*, 4 : 220.
| *Ibid*, 4 : 269.

for consultation a person who gives agreeable advice once or twice", * it may be inferred that the council owes its existence to the royal mandate. The king can summon any person from whom he expects good advice to the council, excepting those who have been recently ennobled; for, "being elated by their new position" they are likely to reveal the state secrets to their friends. † The councillors seem to hold their deliberations under the presidency of the king. ‡ The sessions of the council are secret, § and any member revealing the secrets is liable to punishment. ¶ Within the council, the councillors have complete freedom of speech. One councillor, who gives good advice, may be adversely criticised, and his point of view condemned. During the debate, the king is expected to listen calmly. He "should not contradict either of them"; but when the council is dissolved, "he is at liberty to follow that advice which he considers most advantageous to himself." $

The information which is furnished by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya about the council is, indeed, very meagre. The council described in the *Āmuktamālyada* appears to consist of king's ministers and favourites. The king may accept their advice when he chooses. It looks very much like Kṛṣṇarāya's own council of which Nuniz gives a few glimpses in his chronicle.

Army and the military policy :—The army consists of three sections, elephants, horses, and men. Kṛṣṇarāya places considerable emphasis upon the acquisition and maintenance of elephants and horses. A king should develop his sea port towns so as to increase their trade. || He should attract the merchants bringing elephants and horses from the islands across the ocean to his court by kind treatment, and by offering privileges and gifts so that they might not sell them to his enemy. | He should not consider the money which

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* *Ām.* 4 : 265.
† *Ibid*, 4 : 260.
‡ *Ibid*, 4 : 227.
§ *Ibid*, 4 : 260.
¶ *Ibid*, 4 : 252.
$ *Ibid*, 4 : 227.
|| *Ibid*, 4 : 245.
| *Ibid*, 4 : 258.

he spends on the purchase and maintenance of elephants and horses, and the payment of salaries to soldiers...a waste of public funds." * Having secured elephants and horses, he must keep them in his stables; † he might give them to the warriors well-disposed towards him, for they would be useful to him, if occasion should arise. ‡

Relations with the neighbouring states:—The first step which the ruler of a country should take is to make himself master of his own territory. This may be achieved by adopting one of the following ways: (1) If his neighbour is heading towards ruin, he should be allowed to pursue his path. On the other hand, if he were strong, he should be befriended by the surrender, if necessary, of half his territory. If the strong neighbour were unwilling to be friendly, it would be wise to enter into an alliance with his neighbour so that, they being involved in a mutual struggle, his frontiers might be left unmolested. § (2) He might strengthen his frontiers and prevent any invader from entering his country. As the safety of the kingdom depends on its forts, especially those on the frontier, he should strengthen the frontier forts, and keep them in a proper condition. He must equip them with the necessary weapons of defence, store up in them provisions sufficient to keep the garrison above want even for a life-time. Honest, loyal and warlike Brahmans, proficient in the knowledge of the Vedas, and dependent upon his family for generations should be placed in charge of them. ¶ To enable them to maintain their position, and defend the districts under their jurisdiction in case of an invasion, they should be given estates and forces adequate for the purpose. $ Having made the country free from external attack, a king should next proceed to root out internal enemies; ‖ for, 'the fear of an internal enemy is greater than the fear of a serpent'. |

* *Ām.* 4: 262.
† *Ibid*, 4: 232.
‡ *Ibid*, 4: 226.
§ *Ibid*, 4: 219; 249.
¶ *Ibid*, 4: 261; 207.
$ *Ibid*, 4: 255.
‖ *Ibid*, 4: 219.
| *Ibid*, 4: 259.

A king should always keep in good humour the ambassadors representing the neighbouring princes at his court. He must speak with them amicably, and avoid harsh and unpleasant language in his conversation with them. He must adopt euphemistic speech even while attempting to explain to his dependents the obligations which his neighbours owe him, so that their ambassadors may not take offence. * The same attitude should also be adopted towards the envoys of his enemies, for he may be obliged to conclude peace with their masters. †

A king who is desirous of subduing his neighbours must keep himself informed about the state of affairs in their kingdoms. Therefore, it is necessary that he should employ spies in his service. A capable spy should know several languages, be common in appearance and unknown to other spies. He should be paid liberally, otherwise he would not enter the profession. ‡ Spies of this description should be sent into the enemy's country, to watch his condition ; § and when the king learns that his enemy is oppressive, resorts to evil company, and does not hesitate to sacrifice the interests of his kingdom, he must detach his nobles from him by judicious distribution of bribes. When he feels confident that he can compass his enemy's ruin, he should proceed to do so without hesitation. ¶ He should not march personally against every enemy ; for, in the first place, he needs rest ; $ secondly, it is desirable that he should refrain from visiting dangerous zones. He should not, for instance, enter a country, where the devotees of black magic abound, the water is poisonous, the epidemics prevail, the hills and jungles are impassable, and the savages dwell." || Even in the campaigns which the king conducts personally, he should not approach the walls of the enemy's forts which are protected by several

* *Ām.* 4 : 259.

† *Ibid*, 4 : 267.

‡ *Ibid*, 4 : 278.

§ *Ibid*, 4 : 261.

¶ *Ibid*, 4 : 266.

$ *Ibid*, 4 : 255.

|| *Ibid*, 4 : 268.

deadly weapons. * To all these places the king must despatch his troops under proper commanders. †

After setting out on an expedition, the army should not march rapidly, but proceed only by short stages for a few days, in order to enable the various contingents to join the main body one after another. If the invader feels that the enemy has a superior force, he should mollify him by offering him presents and return to his capital. If he learns, on the contrary, that the enemy is weak, he should proceed with the invasion, ‡ and harass his kingdom. § The savage tribes subject to invader's authority must be incited to plunder the enemy's territory and create panic. ¶ The invader must not be obstinate in his desire to subjugate the enemy; for, that may not always be possible. $ He must, however, drive him to a corner from which he cannot escape and force him to offer battle. || He should capture the enemy's forts, and treat his womenfolk honourably, if they should happen to become prisoners of war. | If the enemy be vanquished in the battle, the invader should not be obstinate in refusing to conclude peace with him. **

The King and his subjects :—As kings are created for governing people, their primary duty is to exercise authority over them and preserve the *dharma*. †† The good-will of the subjects is necessary to the king, as god who is within them listens to their prayers. ‡‡ The government of a king must not be oppressive ;§§ the king should undertake measures to ensure the prosperity of his subjects, exact only low taxes, and provide them with facilities for carrying on agricultural operations unhampered. ¶¶ Another important duty is the preservation of law and order in the kingdom. He should detect

* *Am.* 4: 264.
† *Ibid*, 4: 264; 268.
‡ *Ibid*, 4: 247.
§ *Ibid*, 4: 267.
¶ *Ibid*, 4: 257.
$ *Ibid*, 4: 263.
|| *Ibid*, 4: 264.
| *Ibid*, 4: 267.
** *Ibid*, 4: 252.
†† *Ibid*, 4: 285.
‡‡ *Ibid*, 4: 205.
§§ *Ibid*, 4: 237.
¶¶ *Ibid*, 4: 236.

crime by means of the police,* and put down criminals ruthlessly,† though he might show some consideration in certain cases. ‡

Income and expenditure :—The prosperity of a kingdom depends upon agriculture, as well as trade and industries. A king should strive to increase the prosperity of his kingdom by widening the extent of its cultivable area, and providing it with facilities for yielding better crops. § He should develop the ports of his kingdom; and by making them suitable for the importation of foreign commodities, attract to his country from abroad the merchants who deal in horses, elephants, gems, pearls and sandalwood. ¶ He should also treat the elephant and horse dealers that come to his country from the islands of the ocean with much consideration, by offering them special facilities for profit. $ Moreover, he should offer protection, as suited to their nationality, to people who migrate to his kingdom from abroad. ‖ The king derives considerable income from the mineral resources of his kingdom. It is necessary that faithful servants of the king should be sent to superintend mines and other sources of income. |

The revenues of the kingdom must be carefully husbanded. A king should spend less than his income and replenish his treasury without oppressing his subjects. ** A well-furnished treasury is one of the most important requirements of a kingdom. †† Therefore, a king who desires to rule the country without trouble must store up money in his treasury. Kṛṣṇarāya enjoins that the revenues of a state should be divided into four parts of which one should be reserved for charity and personal expenses of the king; one should be deposited in the treasury and the remaining two should be utilised for the maintenance of the army. ‡‡

* *Ām.* 4 : 239.
† *Ibid*, 4 : 246.
‡ *Ibid*, 4 : 243.
§ *Ibid*, 4 : 236.
¶ *Ibid*, 4 : 245.
$ *Ibid*, 4 : 258.
‖ *Ibid*, 4 : 245.
| *Ibid*, 4 : 245.
** *Ibid*, 4 : 261.
†† *Ibid*, 4 : 216.
‡‡ *Ibid*, 4 : 238.

It is not possible to discharge the duties of kingship without incurring sin. * That is why the ancients have said that kings cannot escape hell after their death. † That, however, must not be an excuse for misrule. One should not think: "What I do is to carry on the work of government which necessarily involves sin. Then, how can I get rid of sin?" This attitude is not desirable. Even the scriptures do not enjoin one to do the impossible. A king should do his duty to the best of his abilities keeping the maintenance of the *dharma* in view. Regarding what is impossible, he should place trust in Viṣṇu and conduct himself humbly. ‡

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* *Ām.* 4 : 264. † *Ibid*, 4 : 276.
‡ *Ibid*, 4 : 285.

APPENDIX.

Certain misconceptions which have gained currency about some of the prisoners whom Kṛṣṇarāya captured at Koṇḍavīḍu demand consideration in this connection. It is believed that Rācūri Mallū Khān and Uddaṇḍa Khān are regarded as Mussalman officers. Their presence at Koṇḍavīḍu is believed to be an indication of the Gajapati's alliance with the Muhammadan rulers of the Deccan. H. Krishna Sastri sees in it an alliance with the 'Ādil Khān: "The presence...of the two Muhammadan chiefs, Mallū Khān and Uddaṇḍa Khān of Rācūru", says he, " is of special interest as it suggests the intimate terms on which the Gajapati and the 'Ādil Shāhī kings (to whom belonged Rāicūr) must have then been in their common cause to oppose the victorious Kṛṣṇarāya'. (*A.S.R.* 1908-9, p. 178). S. K. Ayyangar, while agreeing with Krishna Sastri in looking upon these officers as Mussalmans, strikes into a different path in attempting to account for their presence. 'The presence of the two Muhammadan chiefs would indicate,' according to him, 'the co-operation of the Mussalman Government of Haidarabad-Telingana.' (*The Yet-remembered Ruler &c.*, p. 16). It must be pointed out here that, in the first place, there is no decisive evidence to show that Mallū Khān and Uddaṇḍa Khān were Muhammadan chiefs. The name Mallū, though occasionally borne by the Mussalmans, is a common personal name among the Hindus of South India at that time ; and Uddaṇḍa is a purely Hindu name and is never met with among the Muhammadans. Then about the appellation, Khān, there is definite evidence to show that some Hindu chiefs of this age styled themselves Khāns. One of the subordinates of Pratāparudra Gajapati, Cittāpa Khān was a staunch Hindu. Therefore, the assumption of the title, Khān, need not be taken to indicate that the bearer is necessarily a Mussalman by faith. Secondly, the presence of these chiefs, even if they were Mussalmans, in the camp of the Gajapati, need not necessarily involve an alliance of the Gajapati with Muhammadan rulers of the Deccan ; for they might have been officers in the service of the Gajapati himself. It is a well-known fact that a large number of Mussalman mercenaries were employed by the Vijayanagara kings since the time of Dēvarāya I. Nothing could have prevented the Gajapati from entertaining the Mussalmans in his army, if he chose to do so. As a matter of fact, the inscriptions reveal the names Ajmal Khān and Bijli Khan two Muhammadan officers in the service of Puruṣōttama Gajapati.

The subsequent history of another prisoner, Vīrabhadrarāya, has been the subject of much vain controversy. Nuniz states that, when Kṛṣṇarāya returned to Vijayanagara after setting up a pillar of victory at Simhādri, one day he sent for the captive prince Vīrabhadra and asked him to exhibit in his presence his dexterity in swordsmanship for which he was famous. The prince agreed to do so on the next day. And on the next day when the prince arrived at the court, he was required to fence with one of the Rāya's men who was an expert in the art. The prince feeling insulted, because he was asked to fence with a commoner, committed suicide in the court. On hearing this information, the Gajapati opened negotiations of peace with the object of securing the safety of his wife. He achieved his purpose by agreeing to give his daughter in marriage to the Rāya (*Ibid*, pp. 319–20). This account of Nuniz is denounced as erroneous and untrue. H. Krishna Sastri asserts authoritatively : "This does not appear to have been the case; for, a record from the Davanagere taluka of the Chitaldroog district (*E. C.* xi, Dg. 107) states that Vīrabhadra-Mahārāya, son of the Gajapati king Pratāparudra-Mahārāya, was ruling under the orders of Kṛṣṇarāya the district of Malege-Bennūr-*sīma* and remitted in that capacity the tax on marriages in Śaka 1438 Yuvan (A. D. 1515–16) for the merit of his father Pratāparudra and Kṛṣṇarāya. This interesting record testifies to the high statesmanship of Kṛṣṇarāya who, far from ill-treating a captive prince, raised him to the dignity of a provincial chief which he

originally was when he held Koṇḍavīḍu." (*A. S. R.* 1908-9, p. 178). S. K. Ayyangar quotes this passage from Krishna Sastri's report with approval, and arrives at the complacent conclusion that Nuniz 'stands indubitably convicted' of a grave error. (*The Yet-remembered Ruler &c.*, p. 11).

These writers seem to be more anxious to find fault with Nuniz and glorify Kṛṣṇadēvarāya than to discover the truth. According to Nuniz, prince Vīrabhadra committed suicide after Kṛṣṇadēvarāya returned to Vijayanagara from Simhādri and 'rested for some days.' After the death of the prince, Pratāparudra Gajapati being afraid for the safety of his wife, concluded peace with Kṛṣṇarāya. It is therefore, evident that Vīrabhadra committed suicide in the interval between the return of Kṛṣṇarāya from Simhādri and the conclusion of the peace with the Gajapati. Now, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was at Simhādri on Saturday, 29 March, A.D. 1516 (*S. I. I.* vi, 694, 696), and he must have returned to Vijayanagara some time later. He appears to have concluded peace with the Gajapati before Monday, 8 August, A.D. 1519, for, he made a gift on that day to the temple at Simhādri of two villages included in the Kaḷinga-*daṇḍapāṭa*, which he obtained from Pratāparudra Gajapati. (*Ibid*, 695). Therefore, in accordance with the data supplied by Nuniz, the death of prince Vīrabhadra must have taken place between 29 March, A.D. 1516 and 8 August, A.D. 1519.

The evidence on which H. Krishna Sastri and S. K. Ayyangar condemn Nuniz's account has no bearing on the subject. It describes the condition of the captive prince before Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's return from Simhādri. The Gorlakuṇṭe inscription which states that prince Vīrabhadra held the village of Gorlakuṇṭe in the Niḍugal-*sīme* for his *nāyakatana* is dated Śaka 1437 Yuva, Kārttika Śu. 15 [22 Oct., (A.D. 1515) *E. C.* xii, Pg. 62]; and the Male-Bennūr inscription which records the remission of the marriage tax under Kṛṣṇarāya's orders is dated Śaka 1438 (cur) Yuva, Kārttika, Śu 12, Friday [(Friday, 19 Oct., A. D. 1515) (*E. C.* xi, Dg. 107)]. The evidence of these inscriptions cannot be used for condemning the narrative of Nuniz as erroneous and incorrect.

Therefore, there is no reason for rejecting Nuniz's statement that Vīrabhadra, feeling himself insulted in the court of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, committed suicide. If he were alive after A.D. 1515, as these authors contend, holding an exalted position in the Vijayanagara kingdom, the inscriptions might be expected to allude to this fact. As a matter of fact, no allusion, direct or indirect, to the existence of this prince, subsequent to this date, is found in the inscriptions. Again, prince Vīrabhadra was the heir-apparent to the throne of his father. He was a capable soldier and distinguished general who was entrusted with the administration of Koṇḍavīḍu. (*N. D. I.*, Cp. No. 21). On the conclusion of peace between Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and the Gajapati Pratāparudra, he must have been released from captivity, if he were alive at the time, and must have actively participated, after his return, in the government of his father's kingdom; but Vīrabhadra is not heard of again after he made the gifts recorded in Gorlakuṇṭe and Male-Bennūr epigraphs. When the Gajapati dominions were exposed to the attacks of Qūly Quṭb-ul-Mulk about A.D. 1525 the defence of the country was entrusted to Rāmachundur Dew, another son of Pratāparudra, who was the governor of Koṇḍapalli. (Brigg's *Ferishta* iii (App.), p. 361). Again, after the death of Pratāparudra, he was succeeded by another son, Kalu-a-dēva. It is evident from what is said above that no trace of Vīrabhadra is found either in the inscriptions, Muhammadan histories, or literature after the date of the epigraphs mentioned above. As Nuniz who came to Vijayanagara during the life-time of Kṛṣṇarāya definitely asserts that this prince committed suicide between 1517 and 1519, his statement must be accepted as true.

CHAPTER XIX.

ACYUTADĒVARĀYA.

Acyuta ascended the throne in A.D. 1529. Although he was specially selected by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya as the most competent member of his family to succeed him, he had to overcome much trouble from his enemies before he established himself upon the throne. The rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms who had been patiently biding their time made a simultaneous attack upon his frontiers immediately after the death of his predecessor. Their invasion of his kingdom, and defeat at his hands are mentioned in some of his earliest inscriptions. In an epigraph dated A.D. 1529, for instance, he is described as 'the conqueror of the Oḍḍiya (Uriya) forces', and 'the terror to the minds of the Tulukkars'. * It is obvious that Acyuta came into conflict with the Gajapati and one or more of the Mussalman chiefs in his neighbourhood as soon as he succeeded to throne.

(1) *The Gajapati*:—Tradition has it that immediately on the death of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, the Gajapati Pratāparudra invaded the kingdom of Vijayanagara, but turned back in shame on reading a verse addressed to him by the poet Allasāni Peddana (142). Although it may be doubted whether the retirement of the Gajapati had any connection with the receipt of the verse addressed to him by Peddana, there can be no doubt about its composition and probably also about its despatch. Peddana draws the attention of the Gajapati to the series of defeats which he had suffered at the hands of Kṛṣṇarāya and asks him how he dared to enter the kingdom of Karṇāṭaka stealthily immediately after the death of that monarch. The last four lines of the verse indicate the time when the Gajapati's invasion took place: "Now that he (Kṛṣṇarāya) is dead", asks Peddana, "how dare you enter Kannaḍa like a dog that (stealthily) enters a house whose

* 256 of 1910 *A. R. E.* 1911, Part ii, para. 54.

doors are, by chance, kept open?" The kingdom of Karṇāṭaka was a house with its doors closed so long as it was protected by the powerful arms of a king. At the time of the Gajapati's invasion, however, it was like a house with open doors because it had no king; Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was just dead, and Acyuta was not yet crowned. Notwithstanding the propitiousness of the circumstances under which he invaded, the Gajapati does not seem to have gained any advantage. The poet Rādhāmādhava, a contemporary of Acyuta, states in the introduction to his *Tārakabrahmarājīyam,* that Acyuta "showed mercy to the king of Utkala (after vanquishing him) (141)". This is corroborated by the epigraph from Urattūr cited above.* Therefore, it may be concluded from this that immediately after the death of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, Pratāparudra Gajapati invaded the kingdom of Vijayanagara but was defeated and driven away.

(2) *The Muhammadans:* (*a*) *The Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa:*— The Anonymous Historian of the Quṭb Shāhī Kings of Gōlkoṇḍa describes an attack of Qūlī Quṭb-ul-Mulk upon the fort of Koṇḍavīḍu in or about the year A.D. 1530. It is said that the Rāja of the place had neglected to pay tribute; Quṭb-ul-Mulk marched against the fort and laid siege to it. Though the garrison held out for some time, it had to surrender ultimately; and Quṭb-ul-Mulk built a tower in the middle of the fort in commemoration of his victory and returned to his capital.† Though the payment of tribute to Quṭb-ul-Mulk is unsupported by contemporary evidence, his attack upon Koṇḍavīḍu is alluded to in the inscriptions. Bācarasa who was holding sway over Koṇḍavīḍu a few years later claims to have 'conquered all the Muhammadan armies with his valour.'‡ Velugōṭi Timma who held Gani in the Kurnool district and later Toṇḍamārāyagulla in Nellore won the praise of Acyutarāya by effecting the destruction of Muhammadan infantry, while they were attempting to cross the

* 256 of 1910.

† Briggs: *Ferishta* iii (App.), pp 374-75.

‡ 445 of 1915; *A. R. E.* 1916, Part II, para. 68.

frontier (143-a). The *Kaifiyat of Sānāguṇḍla* states that Acyutarāya who was at Candragiri paid a visit to Sānāguṇḍla while marching against the kingdom of Gōlkoṇḍa.* It may be inferred from these that Acyuta marched towards his north-eastern frontier to ward off an invasion of the Sultān of Gōlkoṇḍa; and as the Vijayanagara authority continued undiminished in this region, he appears to have succeeded in beating back the invaders.

(*b*) *The Sultān of Bijāpūr* :—Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān who had been making futile efforts to recapture Rāicūr from Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, taking advantage of the confusion in the Vijayanagara kingdom caused by his death, invaded the doab between the Kṛṣṇā and the Tungabhadrā, accompanied by 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Amīr Barīd whom he had recently vanquished. † He was, however, opposed by Appalarāja, the valiant son of Āravīḍu Rāmarāja-Timma; but Appala perished in an engagement which took place at Kūrakacerla (145). Owing to other troubles with which Acyuta was beset at this time, he was not able to offer further resistance to the Bijāpūr army. Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān, therefore, proceeded without opposition and captured the forts of Rāicūr and Mudgal after a siege of three months.

Acyuta and Rāmarāja :—The failure of Acyuta to offer successful resistance to the Sultān of Bijāpūr must be attributed to the machinations of Rāmarāja, one of the great grandsons of Āravīṭi Bukka. He began his career in the service of Qūlī Qutb-ul-Mulk of Gōlkoṇḍa; but being disgraced by the Sultān, he left Gōlkoṇḍa and repaired to Vijayanagara where he entered Kṛṣṇarāya's service and won that monarch's favour by showing proofs of his ability. ‡ He married Tirumalamma, Kṛṣṇarāya's daughter by Tirumalādēvī (159); and was entrusted with positions of great responsibility and importance. § Kṛṣṇarāya nominated at

* *L.R.* iv, pp. 273-77. † Brigg's *Ferishta* iii, p. 66.

‡ Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, (App.), p. 381.

§ Queyroz: *The Conquest of Ceylon*, ii. p. 383.

the time of his death, as noticed already, his half-brother Acyuta as his successor, though he had a son of eighteen months old. Rāmarāja, who was not pleased with this arrangement, proclaimed his infant brother-in-law king; but his attempt to seize power was frustrated by the timely intervention of Salvany (Sāḷuva Narasingarāya Daṇḍanāyaka), who 'became minister of the kingdom, and governed it till the coming of King Achitarao from the fortress of Chamdegary where he was detained.'* Owing probably to the attitude of Rāmarāja and his followers, Acyuta celebrated his coronation at first in the presence of the god Venkaṭēśa at Tirupati and later at Kāḷahasti. At last, when he reached the capital, Acyuta entered into an agreement with Rāmarāja, probably against the wishes of Sāḷuva Narasinga Daṇḍanāyaka, and consented to carry on the administration with Rāmarāja as his partner. This estranged Sāḷuva Narasinga from the king; and consequently he retired to his province in high dudgeon and having entered into a conspiracy with the chiefs of Ummattūr and Tiruvaḍi, set up the standard of rebellion. The rebellion assumed serious proportions and Acyuta was obliged to march with an army to the south. Salakarāju Tirumala, Acyuta's brother-in-law, who was in command of the royal army defeated the Tiruvaḍi in battle and brought him and Sāḷuva Narasinga who had taken refuge with him as prisoners to the king's camp at Śrīrangam. Acyuta returned to the capital by way of Ummattūr and Śrīrangam, receiving on the way the submission of the local chiefs.†

The infant son of Kṛṣṇarāya whom Rāmarāja proclaimed king as a rival to Acyuta seems to have died soon after Acyuta's return to the capital. The death of this prince, on whose behalf Rāmarāja was wielding authority, seems to have weakened his position in the kingdom; and consequently the attitude of Acyuta towards him very probably underwent a change.

* Nuniz : *Forgotten Empire*, p. 367.

† *Vijayanagara : Third Dynasty*, pp. 22f.

Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān, who was besieging the fort of Kōvilkoṇḍa belonging to Quṭb-ul-Mulk, died in 1534 A. D., and was succeeded by his son Mallū 'Ādil Khān; Mallū, however, was not a popular king; and a large section of the Bijāpūr nobility, headed by the treacherous Asad Khān Lārī, rose up in rebellion against him. Taking advantage of the internal condition of the Bijāpūr kingdom, Acyuta invaded the Rāicūr doab. He inflicted a defeat on Mallū 'Ādil Khān, who came to oppose him, and subdued the country as far as the Kṛṣṇā. Mallū 'Ādil Khān who was apprehensive of the intrigues of Asad Khān Lārī and his partisans with his brother Ibrāhīm, was obliged to sue for peace; and Acyuta having recovered the territory and successfully vindicated his authority returned to Vijayanagara *.

The history of the subsequent years is obscure. There appears to have broken out some petty rebellion against Acyuta in the neighbourhood of Gutti; he seems to have marched thither in person to subdue the rebellion. He captured Gutti, the stronghold of the rebels (146), and paid a visit to the shrine of the god Venkaṭēśvara at Tirupati, accompanied by his officers in January A.D. 1537. † Certain important changes seem to have taken place in the capital during his absence. Rāmarāja who had been prudently strengthening his position by removing all the old servants of the crown and appointing his own relations and friends in their place took into his service 3,000 foreign Mussalman soldiers whom Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān dismissed from his service on his accession to the throne in A.D. 1535.‡ This seems to have enhanced his power greatly, and feeling confident that he could now impose his authority on the kingdom, he resolved to do away with the king who had been none too friendly towards him during recent years. Therefore, he managed to seize Acyuta on his return to the capital and keep him in prison. Thereupon he proclaimed himself king, and made preparations for the celebration of his coronation; but owing to the opposition of

* *Vijayanagara: Third Dynasty*, pp. 41f. † *T. D. E. R.*, p. 223.
‡ Briggs : *Ferishta* iii, pp. 78-9.

the nobles, he was obliged to abandon the scheme and set up Sadāśiva, a nephew of Acyuta, as a nominal king and carry on the administration in his name. This state of affairs lasted for a short time. The nobles in the extreme south of the kingdom defied Rāmarāja and refused to pay tribute. Therefore, Rāmarāja marched at the head of an army to subdue the recalcitrant nobles, leaving Acyuta in charge of a trusted servant at Vijayanagara. Rāmarāja's campaign against the southern nobles was not completely successful. One of them offered such stubborn resistance that he had to remain in the south longer than he expected. In the meanwhile, the servant in whose charge Rāmarāja left Acyuta turned traitor; he set Acyuta at liberty and assumed the office of the chief minister. He was, however, murdered by Salakarāju Tirumala, Acyuta's brother-in-law, who began to direct the affairs of state thenceforward. On hearing of the outbreak of the trouble at Vijayanagara,* Rāmarāja concluded peace with the noblemen with whom he was fighting and hurriedly proceeded towards the capital; but his progress was slow owing to the defection of his partisans. At the same time, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān, being instigated by the wily minister Asad Khān Lārī, marched at the head of his army, and laid siege to Vijayanagara. Although Acyuta had sufficient force with him, he dared not attack the Bijāpūr king, lest he should make common cause with Rāmarāja. And on the other hand, Rāmarāja was not either sufficiently strong to extern the Sulṭān or, what is more likely, was unwilling to molest him, lest he should join Acyuta. But Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān was obliged to retire to his country quickly owing to the machinations of Asad Khān Lārī whom he had displeased. Asad Khān incited, on the one hand, Burhān Niẓām-ul-Mulk to invade Bijāpūr dominions, and on the other, induced Rāmarāja to attack Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān, promising him secret help. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān was helpless. He opened negotiations of peace with Rāmarāja and Acyuta, and patched up their quarrel. Acyuta was to be the king of Vijayanagara with full authority over the whole kingdom excluding the districts which were included in Rāmarāja's

estate; and Rāmarāja was to rule his estate as an independent prince without any interference on the part of Acyuta. Having obtained large sums of money for his services from Acyuta, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān returned to his kingdom; and the terms of peace were observed by both the parties until Acyuta's death in A.D. 1542.*

Rāmarāja and Salakarāju Tirumala:—On the death of Acyuta, he was succeeded by his son Venkaṭa I. As the new king was not of age, his maternal uncle, Salakarāju Cina Tirumala made himself the regent notwithstanding the opposition of the nobles. The queen Varadādēvī, becoming apprehensive of her brother's motives, appealed to the 'Ādil Khān to assist her in securing the throne for her son; but Tirumala becoming aware of her schemes bought off the 'Ādil Khān. Rāmarāja, who was closely watching the progress of events at Vijayanagara, liberated Sadāśiva from his prison at Gutti, and having proclaimed him emperor appealed to the 'Ādil Khān for help in establishing his authority. Though the 'Ādil Khān acceded to the request and invaded the Vijayanagara kingdom, Tirumala, who had been crowned king by the frightened citizens, defeated him in a battle close to the capital; and to clear his path of all rivals, he caused Venkaṭa I and all the members of the royal family to be assassinated. His rule degenerated into downright tyranny; and the nobles who were the principal victims being disgusted with the manner of his government requested Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān in their turn to come to Vijayanagara and be their king. Though the 'Ādil Khān responded as readily as before, his excessive pride aroused hatred all round, and he was obliged to retire without gaining anything. At last Rāmarāja gathered forces and proceeded to take possession of the kingdom in the name of Sadāśiva. He seized Penugoṇḍa, and proceeded to Gaṇḍikōṭa by way of Gutti; Salakarāju Tirumala who came forward to oppose him was defeated in a series of battles at Kōmali, Bētamcerla, Jūṭūr, Beḍagallu and Ādavāni.

* *Vijayanagara: Third Dynasty*, pp. 56 f.

In a final engagement that took place on the banks of the Tungabhadrā, Rāmarāja defeated him once again and put him to death. Having overthrown the usurper, he proceeded to Vijayanagara, where he performed the coronation of his protège Sadāśiva.*

The origin of the Nāyaks of Madura :—Tradition describes the origin of the Nāyak Kingdom of Madura divergently. According to one account, Nāgama Nāyaka, the founder of the family of the Madura Nāyaks, was sent by Kṛṣṇarāya to punish one Vīraśēkhara Cōḷa, who seized the possessions of Candraśēkhara Pāṇḍya, obviously the king of the Pāṇḍyas. Nāgama who successfully executed Kṛṣṇarāya's order, instead of restoring the territory to its rightful owner, appropriated it himself, and defied the royal command, when he was directed to hand it over to the Pāṇḍya. Kṛṣṇarāya, thereupon, despatched Nāgama's own son, Viśvanātha, against him. Viśvanātha defeated him in a battle and carried him away as a prisoner to Vijayanagara. Kṛṣṇarāya admired the loyalty of Viśvanātha to such an extent that he immediately crowned him king of the South and sent him with the necessary equipment to rule at Madura. † He founded a dynasty in that place which came to be known as the Nāyak Dynasty of Madura.

In another account, it is said that the Rāya who is not mentioned by his name, and his minister, obviously Nāgama Nāyaka, became by the direction of god Viśvēśa of Benares, disciples of the *yogi*, Śrīkanṭhākāśavāsi of the Kulaśēkhara-*pīṭha*, with the object of obtaining sons. The Rāya who begot a son bestowed the Pāṇḍyan country as *gurudakṣiṇā* upon the *yogi*, who, not knowing what to do with such a worldly possession, gave it to Nāgama Nāyaka's son Viśvanātha. And Viśvanātha became the king of Madura and established a dynasty (154).

* *Vijayanagara: Third Dynasty*, pp. 76f.

† *Tanjāvūru Āndhra Rājula Caritramu: Sources*, pp. 319f. According to an another version of this work, the king, who sent Nāgama to suppress the rebellion of Vīra Śēkhara Cōḷa and later appointed Viśvanātha as the king of Madura, was not Kṛṣṇadēvarāya but Acyutadēva Mahārāya (151).

According to the story incorporated in the *Kaifiyat of Karnāṭaka Koṭikam Kings*, Acyuta Mahārāya, the king of Ghanagiri and Vidyānagara made Viśvanāthasvāmi Nāyaḍu, the son of Koṭikam Nāgama Nāyaḍu of the Royal Treasury, the ruler of the Pāṇḍya, Cēra, Cōḷa, and Malayāḷa countries as a reward for the meritorious services which he rendered to the state. He crowned him king of the Pāṇḍya-*maṇḍalam*, and sent him with the necessary paraphernalia to rule at Madura (152).

These stories of origin came into existence long after the establishment of the Nāyak kingdom of Madura; and as they are not in agreement with the evidence of the inscriptions and such other contemporary records that have come down to us, they do not seem to embody the genuine tradition about its foundation. The story which assigns the foundation of this kingdom to the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya is totally opposed to facts. It is said that Kṛṣṇarāya made Viśvanātha, king of the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya countries, when he witnessed the demonstration of the latter's loyalty to the crown. In the first place, it must be pointed out that the assignment of large tracts of country to his noblemen is against the spirit of Kṛṣṇarāya's policy. He declares in his *Āmuktamālyada* that a king who assigns lands to his nobles without transgressing the limits of moderation lives in peace.* It is not credible that he had assigned to Viśvanātha more than a third of his kingdom, however loyal he might have been. As a matter of fact, an epigraph dated A.D. 1529–30 shows clearly that in the last year of Kṛṣṇadēva's reign Viśvanātha, who was an *aḍapam* or the betel-bag bearer of the king, was holding the village of Pālakallu in the Ādavani-*rājya* as his fief (134). Moreover, inscriptions also show that the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya countries were held by several *amaranāyakas* at this time; and it is stated by contemporary writers such as Nuniz and Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima that Sāḷuva Nāyaka *alias* Sellappa was the governor of the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya countries during the reign of Kṛṣṇarāya and

* *Ām.* 4 : 261.

that he continued to hold this post even after Acyuta's accession.* Therefore, it is not possible that Viśvanātha could have obtained his crown and kingdom from Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. The *Kaifiyat of the Karṇāṭaka Koṭikam Kings* attributes, as mentioned above, the foundation of the Nāyak kingdom to the reign of Acyuta. It states that Acyuta made Viśvanātha the king of the Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa, Cēra and Malayāḷa countries as a reward for his meritorious services to the state. However, according to the *Maduraittalavaralāṟu*, which appears to be a far more reliable chronicle, Viśvanātha Nāyaka was the governor of Madura from A.D. 1533 to 1542, when he gave place to another officer called Varada.† The account of this chronicle is partially supported by two inscriptions of Viśvanātha found in the neighbourhood of Madura.‡ Unlike other *amaranāyakas* he describes himself therein as an *ūḻiyam* or menial servant of Acyuta, and does not lay claim to any higher status. Though it might be conceded that he was the governor of Madura for some time during the reign of Acyuta, there is no reason to believe that he was anything more than a favoured personal attendant of the king. There is nothing in the inscriptions and other trustworthy sources of information to sustain the belief that Viśvanātha was crowned king of Madura by any of the Vijayanagara emperors. A careful and unbiassed study of all the available sources of information leads us to the conclusion that the Nāyak kingdom of Madura was founded not by Viśvanātha Nāyaka but by his son Kṛṣṇappa.

The condition of the kingdom:—The internal condition of the kingdom was very disturbed, owing to the outbreak of civil war and foreign invasions. Bandits infested the highways and obstructed the travellers and merchants. Trade was hampered and even the pilgrim traffic came to a standstill in certain localities. *Pāḷaigārs* and nobles who turned robbers

* For a fuller discussion of the subject, see *Vijayanagara: Third Dynasty* App. B, pp. 453–61.

† *The History of the Nāyaks of Madura* App. E, p. 375.

‡ 88 of 1928–9; cf. 113 of 1908.

terrorised the country-side by organized expeditions of dacoity. The most famous of this class was a certain chief called Cēbrōlu Timma, who seems to have created widespread panic in the north-eastern districts of the kingdom. He and his confederates threw the district of Ẹ̈ruva into confusion, carried away the cattle of Gurjāla in Palnāḍ, attacked Vinukoṇḍa, and plundered the country around Tangēḍa; they caused panic in Podile and Ammanabrōlu, burgled the houses at Udayagiri and devastated the district of Sakili by pillage; they ravished the women of Sirivel̤l̤a and Nandēla, harassed the people of Siddhāpuram by their depredations, committed crime in Toṇḍamārayagul̤l̤a, and obstructed people travelling by the Nandi Pass (156). The state of affairs in the other parts of the empire was probably not very much better. Though the government attempted to suppress the brigands and restore peace and order, they do not seem to have been completely successful.

CHAPTER XX

SADĀŚIVA (RĀMARĀJA).

Rāmarāja was, at last, successful in placing his protége Sadāśiva upon the throne. As his rivals were completely destroyed in the civil war, he became the undisputed master of the whole of the Vijayanagara empire. Henceforward, his name was associated with that of Sadāśiva in the administration of the empire. He was not able to bear the subordination even to this shadowy master; and though he did not actually set aside Sadāśiva, he assumed the royal titles a few years later and governed the empire as if he were the crowned monarch himself. The *Kaifiyat of Santarāvūr* which alludes to this fact states that Sadāśiva, who ascended the throne ruled the kingdom for 18 years from Ś.S. 1456 to 1473, while Rāmarāja assisted him as the commander of his armies. Then, Rāmadēvarāya assumed the supreme authority and ruled with great valour for thirteen years from Ś.S. 1474 to Ś.S. 1486 (170-a). The reign of Sadāśiva thus falls into two periods. In the early part of the reign, theoretically Sadāśiva was the only supreme sovereign of the state; but in later part, theory was made conformable to practice and Sadāśiva and Rāmarāja became joint monarchs, although all the power was concentrated in the latter's hands.

The administration of the empire had undergone some changes, since Rāmarāja began to control the affairs of the state. He broke the civil service on which the stability of the empire depended. The Brahman officers, who formed the bulwark of the state, were eliminated from the government service one after another, as they were opposed to the prosecution of Rāmarāja's ambitious designs. He destroyed, according to Ferishta, 'many of the ancient nobility' and raised 'his own family to the highest rank'.* This is confirmed by the Anonymous Historian of the Quṭb Shāhī kings who asserts

* Briggs; *Ferishta* iii, p. 81.

that Rāmarāja strengthened his power 'by the reduction of many troublesome neighbours and the elevation of his own adherents and relatives'.* The statements of the Muhammadan historians are fully corroborated by the inscriptions. The families of the Brahman officers, which were associated with the kingdom of Vijayanagara since the days of its foundation, disappear completely from the inscriptions. Rāmābhaṭlayya and Rāmayāmātya are the only Brahman officers of note that seem to have played some part in the administration in the early years of Sadāśiva's reign; and nothing more is heard of them after A.D. 1550. However, Puligaḍḍa Pāpanarasayya, who was an adherent of Rāmarāja, was retained in the service until the end of the reign (188). The place of the Brahmans in the government was occupied by the *Kṣatriyas* mostly of the Āravīḍu and the Telugu Cōḷa families. Even the Sāḷuvas who played a dominant part in the affairs of the kingdom under the previous dynasties seem to have been excluded. The brothers, the cousins, the nephews, and the other relations of Rāmarāja as well as his Velama and Kamma adherents are frequently mentioned in various administrative capacities all over the empire.

Another important change which was fraught with evil consequences was the admission of the Muhammadans into the army. It must, however, be observed that Rāmarāja did not introduce an innovation. As a matter of fact, a few Muhammadan contingents formed part of the Vijayanagara army since the days of Dēvarāya I. Some of the important Mussalman officers of the early Vijayanagara kings are mentioned in the village *kaifiyats* (57, 110). But the strength of the Mussalman contingent was not great, as it formed but a small section of the army. Moreover, the Muslim officers were not entrusted with any responsible office under the government, so that they might remain incapable to disturb the stability of the state. Rāmarāja appears to have thrown prudence to winds in his anxiety to grasp power. He entertained as many foreign

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App., p. 381.

Mussalman mercenaries and adventurers in his service as he could get,* and offered them facilities, which enabled them to acquire an intimate knowledge of the internal affairs of the kingdom.† Consequently, the Muhammadan element in the army increased; and correspondingly the loyalty of the army to the state became more problematical.

Rāmarāja was the first Vijayanagara monarch who showed any inclination to entangle himself in the inter-state politics of the Muhammadan kingdoms. His predecessors, though they constantly came into contact with the Mussalmans, never relished the idea of entering into an alliance with any Mussalman prince. Rāmarāja started his war against the 'Ādil Shāh to regain some territory which he had seized; he waited for a favourable opportunity to turn tables upon the 'Ādil Shāh, and being well-versed in Muslim statecraft allied himself with his enemies, won back what he had lost. This seems to have opened his eyes to the possibility of increasing his power at the expense of the Muhammadans; and throughout his rule he actively busied himself with the affairs of the Muhammadan states and succeeded in establishing his hegemony over them. The dominant position which Rāmarāja acquired in the affairs of the Deccan roused the jealousy of the Muhammadan rulers, and resulted ultimately in the formation of that confederacy which brought about his downfall on the battle-field of Rākṣasi-Taṅgaḍi.

As soon as Rāmarāja celebrated Sadāśiva's coronation at Vijayanagara, he had to despatch an army to the southern provinces of the empire. The expedition is said to have reached Travancore some time before 16th June, A.D. 1544; for the Catholic evangelist St. Francis Xavier alludes to fugitives, who fled from the Baḍaga invaders, in a letter dated on that day. Therefore, the expedition must have started from Vijayanagara either at the beginning of that year or at the close of the previous year. As Sadāśiva's coronation took

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* Briggs; *Ferishta* iii, p. 79.

† Shirazi: J. B. B. *R.A.S.* xxii, p. 28.

place only about the middle of A.D. 1543, this expedition appears to be the first military enterprise undertaken by the government during his reign.

The causes of this expedition are not known. It has been surmised that Rāmarāja sent the army to the South with the object of establishing firmly 'the authority of the empire in its most distant corners',* and to check the authority of the ruler of Travancore,† who made an 'extraordinarily successful effort' 'to extend his dominions across the peninsula.'‡ Moreover, the proselytizing activities of the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Pearl Fishery Coast is believed to have caused grave apprehension in the minds of the imperial statesmen, as the conversion to Christianity of its industrious inhabitants implied a transfer of political allegiance to the Portuguese. Again, Martin Afonso de Sousa, the most rapacious of the Portuguese governors of Goa, organized an attack upon Kāñcī 'in the rains of 1543', with the object of plundering rich temples. The secret, however, leaked out, and 'the Raja of Vijayanagara became uneasy'.§ These circumstances are said to have compelled the imperial government to send an army to the southern provinces to ensure the safety of the empire.

All these statements are, no doubt, based upon facts. But they do not describe the state of affairs obtaining in the southern districts of the empire completely. The aggressions of the ambitious ruler of Travancore, the evangelical zeal of the Catholic missionaries, and the thieving raids of the notorious Portuguese governor were not isolated events. They are the by-products of the political confusion and disorder that spread over the whole of the Coromandal Coast. The opponents

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* Heras: *The Āravīḍu Dynasty*, p. 141.

† Opinion differs pertaining to the identity of this king. S. K. Ayyangar believes that his name was Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varman; whereas Heras declares that he was known as Uṇṇi Kērala Varman. According to Nāgamaiya, Bhūtala Vīra Kērala Varma was the king of Jayasinga-nāḍu at the time of the Baḍaga invasion. (*Travancore Manual I*, p. 297.)

‡ *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Introduction, p. 17.

§ Whiteway: *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, p. 283.

of Rāmarāja, who could not bear to see their enemy established permanently as the supreme head of the state, seem to have made a final attempt to defy his authority. They obtained control over the fort of Candragiri and its dependent territory; the Cōḷa country appears to have been completely dominated by them. Farther south, the chiefs of Tannarasu-*nāḍu* refused to pay tribute. The extreme south of the empire, which had always constituted itself into a separate political unit, was in a state of upheaval owing to the jealousy and ambition of the local chiefs. At this time, this region, which roughly corresponds to the present Tinnevelly district and the Eastern Travancore, was divided into a number of small principalities which were frequently at war with one another. In Eastern Travancore there were no less than five of these states, referred to in the contemporary Telugu literature as the *Pañca Tiruvaḍis.* The contemporary Portuguese accounts also mention some of these. According to the Malabar Christian D. João da Cruz, there were more than five states between Quilon and Punnaikāyal of which Quilon, Travancore and Cape Comorin were the most important. They are said to correspond to the five *svarūpams* of Ciravāyi, Attingal or Tiruppāppūr; Kallikku or Ceytunganāḍ, Pokattali, and Kunnummel Ilayitam.*

The boundaries and the extent of these principalities varied with time. At the time of the expedition under consideration (A. D. 1543), the kingdom of Quilon seems to have extended along the coast from the city of Quilon to Viliñjam;† and that of Cape Comorin from the Cape to the mouth of the Tāmraparṇi;‡ Travancore lay between these two.

The cause of the political disturbance was the attempt made by Iniquitibirim, the ruler of Travancore, to seize the lands belonging to the king of Cape Comorin, who died in A. D. 1543 leaving his kingdom to a young son. Iniquitibirim, proceeding to the kingdom of Cape Comorin, seized its

* *J.B.H.S.* 1931, pp. 14, 24—*The Kerala Society Papers.*

† *Ibid*, p. 15. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 10.

young prince with his mother, and detained them in prison. He would not release them unless they agreed first to surrender to him the lands which he desired very much. But the young prince was not willing to cede any territory. Therefore, he opened secret negotiations with St. Francis Xavier, who was then engaged in converting the Paravas of the Pearl Fishery Coast into Christianity with the object of obtaining the help of the Portuguese governor through his mediation. Moreover, he entered into an alliance with Betibumal (Beṭṭuperumāḷ), the powerful chief of Kāyattār and Tuticorin. Iniquitibirim, who grew apprehensive of the designs of his enemies, also requested St. Francis Xavier to induce the Portuguese governor to support him rather than his enemies; and St. Francis was in communication with the Portuguese governor, eagerly looking forward to the conclusion of a treaty with one or other of these southern chiefs.*

Such was the state of affairs in the South, when Rāmarāja despatched an army from Vijayanagara under the command of his cousin, Cina Timma. What, however, really precipitated the despatch of the expedition was the activity of the Catholic missionaries on the Coromandal Coast. They converted a large number of fishermen by holding out promises of the protection of the Portuguese government from the tyranny of the Mussalman traders and Hindu governors. They built churches, appointed priests, and taught the new converts to disregard the native princes and acknowledge the king of Portugal as their sovereign. Emboldened by their success, they began to demolish Hindu temples in several places. "The Franciscan Friars, who from the beginning were established at St. Thomé and at Negapatam, caused several Hindu temples to be desecrated, and idols destroyed, building in their stead many Christian churches and chapels. In the year 1542, they had built at Negapatam two churches...and about three thousand people embraced the Catholic Faith. The Jesuits who came shortly after, followed the example of the Franciscans".† In

* E. A. Stewart: *St. Francis Xavier*, pp. 188, 194 f.

† Heras: *The Āraviḍu Dynasty*, p. 67.

addition to this, information had reached Vijayanagara that De Sousa, the Portuguese governer of Goa, secretly designed an attack upon Conjeevaram with the object of plundering its rich temples.* These circumstances made the despatch of a strong military force imperative.

Cina Timma set out from Vijayanagara at the head of an army, accompanied by his brother, Viṭṭhala, who appears to have rendered valuable service during the campaign. He proceeded to the fort of Candragiri and captured it. The name of the enemy from whom he took the fort is not known. He chased the rebels like wild animals, and captured several forts in the neighbouring country. Having completed the subjugation of this district, he entered the Cōḷa country and stormed the fort of Bōnagiri. Marching along the coast, he reached the port of Nāgūr where he destroyed several wicked people and restored to god Ranganātha the wealth which belonged to him. He took from them new pearls which he distributed among his friends. The wicked people who are said to have deprived god Ranganātha of his wealth must have been the Roman Catholics who were responsible, as noticed already, for the destruction of the Hindu temples. Cina Timma then crossed the Cauvery and entered the Pudukottah region which together with portions of Tanjore and Ramnad districts was then known as Tannarasu-*nāḍ*. This district was under the sway of local chiefs who withheld the payment of tribute to the imperial government taking advantage of the confusion caused by the recent civil war. Cina Timma quickly reduced them to subjection, and collected from them the arrears of tribute. As he proceeded farther south along the coast, the king of the Pāṇḍyas arrived at his camp and sought protection under him. Beṭṭuperumāḷ (Betibumal), the chief of Kāyattār and Tuticorin, drove him out of his kingdom and took forcible possession of it. Cina Timma crushed the pride of Beṭṭuperumāḷ in battle and

* Whiteway: *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 280, 283; Burgess: *Chronology of Modern India*, p. 29.

reinstated the Pāṇḍya in his ancestral kingdom. During the campaign against Beṭṭuperumāḷ, Cina Timma appears to have come into conflict with the princes of the Tiruvaḍi country. The Five Tiruvaḍis seem to have united their forces to face the common enemy and barred his path outside the pass of Tōvāḷ; but Cina Timma routed them in a battle and scattered their forces. The path which led to the region round the Cape and Travancore being thus freed from obstacles, the victorious army of the Vijayanagara general swept over the country like a tornado spreading ruin and death in its wake (168). One of the vanquished Tiruvaḍis, Iniquitibirim of Travancore, submitted and he was received into favour. Cina Timma seems to have offered terms of peace to Beṭṭuperumāḷ; but he showed no signs of submission. On the contrary, he hastened by sea to join his ally the king of Cape Comorin and waged war upon Iniquitibirim.* He was not, however, successful; he was defeated in battle and taken prisoner. Cina Timma reduced the country to subjection and crowned Iniquitibirim king of it (168). Thus he successfully performed the task which his cousin, Rāmarāja, had entrusted to him. He subdued the rebels and reasserted the authority of the imperial government in the southernmost dependencies of the empire. But before returning to the capital, he visited the shrine of the god Padmanābha at Trivandrum and offered worship to the deity. Thence he went to Cape Comorin and set up a pillar of victory. Then leaving his brother Viṭṭhala in the south to govern the subdued countries as his deputy, he returned to Vijayanagara.

Rāmarāja and the Portuguese:—Rāmarāja's relations with the Portuguese were by no means uniformly friendly. With the advent of Martin Afonso de Sousa as the governor of Goa, the attitude of the Portuguese which had been until then generally agreeable to the kings of Vijayanagara had undergone a sudden change. It was probably due to the greed of the governor, coupled with the opportunity for plunder which the outlying

*. E. A. Stewart: *St. Francis Xavier*, p. 210.

parts of the empire offered, on account of the confusion caused by the recent civil war. He attacked the port of Bhatkal in A.D. 1542, and plundered it, as if it were a city belonging to an enemy. His activities on the Coromandel Coast have been noticed above.

De Sousa's governorship came to an end in A.D. 1545; and he was succeeded by João de Castro, who was a man of different character. Rāmarāja concluded a political and commercial treaty with him in A.D. 1546, as a consequence of which cordial relations were restored between the two powers. The amicable state of affairs, however, did not last long. Rāmarāja made a sudden attack on the Portuguese settlement at St. Thome in A.D. 1558 with the object of chastising the Catholic missionaries and plundering its rich inhabitants. He exacted a tribute of a hundred thousand *pagodas*, of which one half was paid down immediately, and the other half was to be paid next year. Taking five of the chief citizens as hostages for the payment of the balance, Rāmarāja returned to his capital.* He seems to have despatched an expedition against Goa about this time. It is stated in *Rāmarājīyam* that Rāmarāja terrified the city of Pai-Goa.† The *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* gives more information about this incident. According to this work, Rāmarāja, being desirous of taking Goa from its Portuguese masters, sent his cousin Viṭṭhalarāya, accompanied by the Ikkēri chief Sankaṇṇa Nāyaka, against the city with instructions to march quickly, and make the enterprise successful. Viṭṭhala and Sankaṇṇa marched promptly against Goa and captured the sea-girt city (176).

As Viṭṭhala's expedition against Goa is not alluded to in any other work, it is not possible to ascertain how far it is

* Heras: *The Āraviḍu Dynasty*, p. 64 f.

† Pai-Goa has been transformed to Pegova and Paigo in *The Sources of the Vijayanagara History* in order to identify it with Pegu. (*The Sources of the Vijayanagara History*, pp. 183, 187). This identification cannot be accepted; for, there is no evidence to suggest that Rāmarāja had any relations, hostile or otherwise, with Pegu. Pai-Goa or Pain-Goa is identical with Pangim which together with Rāibandar and the old city of Goa constitutes the modern capital of Portuguese India. (See Fonesca: *Historical and Archæological Sketch of Goa*, p. 97.)

authentic. It is not, however, unlikely that Rāmarāja should have despatched troops against Goa, at the time of his attack on St. Thome, in order to divert the attention of the Portuguese authorities.

Rāmarāja and the Muhammadan Kings:—The *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* (171, 172, 173) and the *Velugōṭivārivaṃśāvaḷi* (181-a) furnish much useful information about Rāmarāja's relations with the Mussalman rulers of the Deccan. The former alludes to several events which took place in his campaigns against Bijāpūr, Bidar and Aḥmadnagar, though it wrongly attributes them to the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.* The latter describes Rāmarāja's invasion of the Gōlkoṇḍa kingdom, and corroborates the account of the Anonymous Historian.

Bijāpūr:—"The king of Bijāpūr, despatched," according to the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam*, "without paying due regard to the might of the Rāya, an army against him under the command of Sāṭheya Khāna, one of his ministers; but Sadāśiva Nāyaka defeated him in battle." Though the name of the king of Bijāpūr, and the time of his invasion of Vijayanagara territory are not mentioned in the work these facts can easily be discovered by a reference to the Muhammadan historians. It must be borne in mind that during Rāmarāja's reign two kings, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, and his son 'Alī ruled at Bijāpūr. The latter never fought against Rāmarāja excepting in the war which terminated in the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi; whereas the former was engaged in war with Rāmarāja at first, though in the end he was obliged to

* The *Śivatattvaratnākaram*, an earlier work by Keḷadi Basavabhūpāla places these events correctly in the reign of Rāmarāja; moreover, the battle in which Sadāśiva Nāyaka is said to have defeated the Aḥmadnagar officers Fērōja Khāna, Tālita Khāna, Sanjar Khāna, Śāṭhe Khāna, Munila Khāna, Dastura Khāna, Vajra Khāna, Rāvuta Khāna, &c., at the instance of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, are attributed by Sayyid 'Alī Azīz-ul-lah Tabātaba to the reign of Sadaśivarāya. The engagement took place during one of Rāmarāja's invasions against Aḥmadnagar at Jamagaon, and not at Jambukhandi as stated in the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam*.

"Sadāśivarāya then ordered Sadāśiva Nāik, one of the chief officers of the army of Vijayanagar, to take his troops and harry the country as far as the Gōdāvarī, slaying all whom he met; but the spies brought information of this design to the king. The king sent an army of 'Irāqī and Khurāsānī horsemen under Mavali Khān, Sanjar Khān, Daulat Khān, Dastur Khān, and Vazīr Khān and Satya to intercept the Hindus. This force came upon the Hindus near the town of Jamagaon". *I.A.* 1, p. 105.

seek his support to ward off the invasion of his dominions by Burhān Niẓām Shāh and his allies. Therefore, the king of Bijāpūr who sent an army against Vijayanagara, as stated in the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* must be Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh.

The kings of Bijāpūr and Aḥmadnagar who were at war with each other in A.D. 1542–3 made up their differences, and concluded a treaty according to which they should cease fighting. The king of Bijāpūr recognised the right of the king of Aḥmadnagar to conquer Bidar; and the latter in his turn recognised the right of the former to conquer the Vijayanagara territory. Although the Anonymous Historian declares that Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh marched after the conclusion of this treaty to the south, and 'succeeded in adding greatly to his territories by conquests from the Hindoo state of Beejanuggur,'* the invasion does not seem to have produced any substantial results; for, there was no territorial loss, as observed by Heras, to Vijayanagara;† and if it is to this invasion that the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* alludes, it appears to have been turned back by Sadāśiva Nāyaka.

Ahmadnagar :—The *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* records two victories which the Keḷadi chief Sadāśiva Nāyaka won over the armies of Sulṭān Bhairy Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar. The first conflict arose owing to the desire of the Rāya to capture the forts of Kalyāṇi and Kalubarige (Gulburga). Sadāśiva Nāyaka who was leading the Vijayanagara army found his path blocked at a place called Jambukhandi,‡ by the Niẓām Shāhī forces under the command of the *vazīrs* Fērōja Khāna, Tālita Khāna, Sanjar Khāna, Sāṭheya Khāna, Munila Khāna,

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* Briggs: *Ferishta*, iii, (App.), p. 387.

† *The Āraviḍu Dynasty*, p. 76.

‡ The *Śivatattvaratnākaram* also alludes to Sadāśiva Nāyaka's attack upon Kalyāṇi and Kalubarige; but according to this work, it was not the Niẓām Shāhī army that opposed him, but the lord of Vijayāpura (Bijāpūr). He was, however, defeated and driven away. It may be noted here that the forts of Kalyāṇi and Kalubarige formed the bone of contention between the 'Ādil Khān and the Niẓām Shāhī kings. Rāmarāja helped Burhān Niẓām Shāh to wrest them from Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. *Śivatattvaratnākaram* evidently refers to this war. Rāmarāja, helped later 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh to recapture them from Husain Niẓām Shāh. The incidents described in *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* must refer to this second war.

Dastura Khāna, Vajra Khāna, Rāvuta Khāna, and Bokka Singa (173). The events described in *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* seem to have taken place during Rāmarāja's first invasion of Aḥmadnagar kingdom. The circumstances under which Rāmarāja came to invade the Aḥmadnagar territory are fully narrated by the Mussalman historians. The fort of Kalyāṇi which originally belonged to the kingdom of Bidar was attacked by Burhān Niẓām Shāh in A.D. 1548. As 'Alī Barīd promised to surrender the fort to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, if he helped him in the war, the latter marched with his army and prevented Burhān Niẓām Shāh from seizing his prey. However, he entered into an alliance with Rāmarāja and succeeded in capturing the fort with his aid in A.D. 1548; and the fort remained in his possession up to the time of his death in A.D. 1553. On his death he was succeeded by his son Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, who renewed his father's contest with Bijāpūr with greater vigour.* He entered into an alliance with Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh of Golkoṇḍa and laid siege to the fort of Gulburga in A.D. 1557. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, unable to resist the enemy single-handed, sought the assistance of Rāmarāja, who responded to the request promptly by marching in person at the head of his army. Rāmarāja, who was desirous of preventing bloodshed, addressed a letter to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, and arranged a meeting of all the four kings concerned in the warfare at the junction of the Kṛṣṇā and the Bhīmā rivers. A peace was concluded and it was agreed that, in case any one of the parties were the subject of an unjust attack, the others should join him against the aggressor. Soon after the conclusion of this peace Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh died at Bijāpūr and he was succeeded by his young son, 'Alī.

Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh did not believe in the sanctity of the treaties which he had concluded with his neighbours. Taking advantage of the youth of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, he invaded the kingdom of Bijāpūr; and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, who was not in a position to defend himself, fled to Vijayanagara, and took refuge with

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, pp. 238–239.

Rāmarāja, and implored him to come to his assistance. As one of the signatories of the Four Kings' peace Rāmarāja felt that he was bound to offer protection to the 'Ādil Shāh, who fell a victim to the ambitious designs of his neighbour. Consequently he marched northwards with all his army accompanied by 'Alī 'Adil Shāh. At the same time he despatched letters to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh calling on him to join them, as one of the signatories of the Four Kings' peace. Although Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh did not like to join in a war against Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh with whom he secretly sympathised, he was obliged to join them with his army as he dared not to incur their displeasure.* At the approach of the allies, the Niẓām Shāh hastily retreated into his dominions entrusting the defence of Kalyāṇi to Bhōpāl Rāy, one of the Hindu officers in his service. As he realised that he could not be safe in his capital, he left it in charge of a capable officer supported by a strong garrison and repaired to Paiṭhan on the Gōdāvarī. The allies detached a contingent to carry on the siege of Kalyāṇi, and marched with the rest of the army to Aḥmadnagar which they closely invested. The siege continued for two months; and notwithstanding the help which Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh had treacherously offered to the garrison, it became apparent that the fall of the fort was not far off. Rāmarāja commissioned Sadāśiva Nāyaka one of the chief officers of his army, 'to take his troops and harry the country as far as the Gōdāvarī,'† probably with the object of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. It was during the course of this raid that Sadāśiva Nāyāka came into conflict with the Niẓām Shāhī officers at Jambukhandi as mentioned in the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam.* The *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* describes this incident. Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, who obtained information of this raid, 'sent an army of 'Irāqī and K͟hurāsānī horsemen under Mavali K͟hān, Sanjar K͟hān, Daulat K͟hān, Dastūr K͟hān, Vazīr K͟hān and Sātya to intercept the Hindus. They came upon Sadāśiva Nāyaka at a place called Jamgaon, where a determined engagement had taken place'.‡ Jamgaon of *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* and Jambukhaṇḍi of

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* Briggs: *Ferishata* iii, (App.), pp. 402–3.

† *I. A.*, 1, p. 105. ‡ *Ibid.*

Keḷadinṛpavijayam are but two different variations of the name of the village of Jamkhed, a village in the Aḥmadnagar district of the Bombay presidency. The result of the battle cannot be definitely known at present, as our sources are at variance on this point. The *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* claims a complete victory for the Niẓām Shāhī troops, whereas the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* asserts that Sadāśiva Nāyaka not only inflicted a defeat upon the Niẓām Shāhī officers mentioned above, but captured one of them called Bokka Singa. There is, however, reason to believe that victory was on the side of the Hindus; for, in the first place, the other Muslim historians do not allude to any victory won by the Niẓām Shāhī troops; and secondly, Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh is said to have made peace with Sadāśivarāya immediately after this victory, because he heard that Bhōpāl Rāy had surrendered the fort of Kalyāṇi to the enemy. Moreover, the Vijayanagara army appears to have crossed the Gōdāvarī and carried fire and sword up to Daulatābād.* It was on this occasion that Venkaṭādri inflicted a defeat on Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and forced him to retreat towards Daulatābād, crossing the river Gōdāvarī by means of a boat.† Venkaṭādri advanced with his army in pursuit of him and captured the fort of Daulatābād.‡ This series of defeats had at last convinced the Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh of the futility of prolonging the war. Therefore, he purchased peace by surrendering the fort of Kalyāṇi to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh.

Rāmarāja's second expedition against Aḥmadnagar is also briefly alluded to in the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam*. It is said that 'on another occasion, the Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar opposed the Rāya in battle with considerable pride; but Sadāśiva confounded him and put him to flight.' As this account adds no new information, the campaign need not be taken into consideration in this context.

Bidar :—Rāmarāja's war with Barīd Shāh of Bidar which is alluded to in the *Śivatattvaratnākaram* is described at length in the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam*. Although these works attribute the victory solely to the heroism displayed by Sadāśiva Nāyaka of

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, p. 120. † *Sources*, p. 219. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 183.

Keḷadi, he played, in fact, only a subordinate part in the war. The campaign was led by Rāmarāja's brother Venkaṭādri;* and he was assisted by Narasarāja of Torgal besides Sadāśiva Nāyaka and other officers.† The causes of this war are unknown. The Muhammadan historians from whom some explanation may be expected are silent.

The *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* places this war after Rāmarāja's first invasion of the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom. This is indirectly supported by the Muhammadan writers. According to Ferishta, 'Alī Barīd Shāh joined Rāmarāja and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh in their campaign against Aḥmadnagar;‡ and his presence in their army during the war with Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh is also noticed by the Anonymous Historian.§ Therefore, Rāmarāja's war with Barīd Shāh must have taken place earlier than his second attack upon Aḥmadnagar.

The events of the war may be briefly narrated. When Barīd Shāh heard that the Vijayanagara army was marching against his kingdom, he was very much enraged, and placing himself at the head of his army, he marched towards his frontier to repel the invaders. When the two armies met, a fierce engagement took place. Barīd Shāh, seated on the back of an elephant, personally conducted the operations. He was, however, defeated and taken prisoner with his ministers; the insignia of his royalty were seized by the victorious Hindu general as trophies. As a consequence of his defeat, Barīd Shāh had to join Rāmarāja and fight against his enemies.

Gōlkoṇḍa:—Rāmarāja came into contact with the Quṭb Shāhī court, as noticed already, early in life. During the short period of his service under Qulī Quṭb Shāh, he gained a first-hand knowledge of the internal conditions of the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom, which enabled him later to wage war successfully against the Sulṭān. Moreover, he acquired the friendship of several Hindu and Mussalman nobles, who played an

* *Sources*, p. 219. *Narasabhūpālīyam*, 1 : 85.
† *Narasabhūpālīyam*, 1 : 12, 3 : 12.
‡ Briggs *Ferishta* iii, p. 120.
§ *Ibid*, (App). p. 408.

important part in his wars with the Mussalman rulers of the Deccan later. Of these Rāja Immaḍi Jagadēva Rāo was the most important. He was a brave soldier, a capable commander, and won distinction on many a battle-field. He rose to prominence under Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh, and occupied the most exalted place in the affairs of the kingdom. After the death of Jamshīd, he was obliged to leave the kingdom owing to his disagreement with the government. He entered the service of 'Imād Shāh of Berar, but was obliged to leave Berar soon after, on account of his ambitious designs. At last, he migrated to Vijayanagara, and was warmly received by Rāmarāja who bestowed upon him many honours and gifts (205)*.

Rāmarāja's relations with Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh were at first friendly. When Ibrāhīm fled from the wrath of his brother to the court of Vijayanagara, Rāmarāja treated him kindly, and showed him the honour that was due to a prince of his rank. When on the death of Jamshīd, Ibrāhīm started for Gōlkoṇḍa to seize the throne, Rāmarāja offered to send an army under his brother, Venkaṭādri, to assist him. They continued to cherish feelings of friendship towards each other for some years even after Ibrāhīm's accession to the throne of Gōlkoṇḍa; but owing to conflicting interests of their foreign policy, they gradually drifted apart, although they managed to avoid a breach up to the close of Rāmarāja's first invasion of the Aḥmadnagar kingdom, as noticed already.

The actual circumstances which precipitated the conflict between Rāmarāja and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh are not accurately recorded. According to Ferishta, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, who joined Rāmarāja and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh in their first campaign against Aḥmadnagar, becoming jealous of the latter, began to help secretly the Niẓām Shāhī officers defending their capital. "'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and Rāmrāj demanded an explanation of Ibrāhīm Kootb Shāh, who, without affording it, decamped during the night and marched to Gōlkoṇḍa."† The Anonymous Historian,

* Briggs *Ferishta* iii, (App.), pp. 399-401. † *Ibid* iii, p. 240.

however, states that Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh induced Rāmarāja to raise the siege of Aḥmadnagar by promising to him "to cede the fort and district of Condapilly";* but the promise was not fulfilled. Moreover, he showed open hostility to Rāmarāja and joined Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh with the object of making war upon the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr. He strengthened his friendship with the Niẓām Shāh by marrying his daughter; and it was arranged that the marriage should take place at Kalyāṇi which at that time belonged to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. Accordingly both the monarchs moved with their armies to Kalyāṇi which they proceeded to besiege forthwith.

Rāmarāja could not afford to neglect the hostile conduct of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, who had shown his determination by his recent activities to upset the balance of power in the Deccan. The importunate solicitations of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh for help gave him an excellent opportunity to chastise Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. As soon as 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh came to Vijayanagara to ask for his support, he received him cordially, and promised to march forward with his army against the Sulṭāns of Aḥmadnagar and Gōlkoṇḍa. He directed his brother Venkaṭādri to march with Jagadēva Rāo and 'Ain-ul-Mulk at the head of a large army against the southern districts of the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom. He next set out with another army accompanied by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and 'Alī Barīd Shāh to the rescue of Kalyāṇi which was invested by the Niẓām Shāhī and Quṭb Shāhī forces.†

On the receipt of the intelligence that Rāmarāja and his allies were marching against them, the two Sulṭāns broke their camp and hastily retreated towards their respective kingdoms. Rāmarāja pursued the Niẓām Shāh and the 'Ādil Shāhī forces chased the Quṭb Shāh. The Vijayanagara army penetrated into the heart of the Niẓām Shāhī territories and laid siege to the capital for the second time. Although the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* asserts that Sadāśiva Nāyaka defeated the Niẓām Shāh, the campaign seems to have ended fruitlessly, if we have to trust

* Briggs *Ferishta* iii, App., p. 404. † *Ibid*, p.p. 406–7.

the account of Ferishta. Owing to the destruction of a part of the Vijayanagara army in a sudden flood of the Sēna river, Rāmarāja is said to have raised the siege of Aḥmadnagar.*

Meanwhile, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh was not allowed to retreat without opposition. He was constantly harassed by the 'Ādil Shāhī troops who overtook him, and succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat upon his forces. It was with difficulty that he managed to reach his capital; but he found on his arrival that the affairs of his kingdom were thrown into bewildering confusion by Venkaṭādri and his army. Before he could make arrangements to expel them, Rāmarāja and his allies returned from Aḥmadnagar, and halted at Tarpully at a distance of thirty miles from Gōlkoṇḍa. Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh attempted in vain to dislodge them from their camp; but he found the invaders too strong for him.† Rāmarāja did not give him any chance to reorganize his forces and offer effective resistance. He commanded Venkaṭādri and his lieutenants Jagadēva Rāo and 'Ain-ul-Mulk to ravage the country around Gōlkoṇḍa. He ordered his nephew Siddhirāju Timmarāju, who was the governor of Koṇḍavīḍu, to march with fifty thousand infantry against Koṇḍapalli and Masulipatam; and he also induced Sitāpati (Cittāpa Khān) and Vidiadry to march against Ellore from Rājahmandry.‡

Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh was thus surrounded by his enemies on all sides; but Rāmarāja weakened the garrison defending the fort of Koṇḍavīḍu by sending its governor with the major portion of his army into the enemy's country. Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh perceived the weak spot in the hostile ring surrounding him. He resolved to strike at this vulnerable point and led an army against it personally. He was accompanied by officers of distinction such as Muṣṭafā Khān, 'Aẓim Khān, Yākūb Khān, Cintaguṇṭa Dharmārāo and others. A part of the army reached Koṇḍavīḍu in advance and laid siege to the fort. Rāmarāja, however, seems to have foreseen this danger. At his instance,

* Briggs *Ferishta* iii, p. 245. † *Ibid* iii, App., p. 407. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 408.

his brother, Yaṟa Timmarāju* sent an army under his deputy Velugōṭi Cina Timmā Nāyaḍu to rescue the fort. Cina Timma came upon the Muhammadan army outside Koṇḍavīḍu, and after a fierce engagement put them to flight. But the main body of the Quṭb Shāhī forces had crossed the river Kṛṣṇā, and a contingent under Muṣṭafā Khān having penetrated the hilly tract in the north of Kurnool district, spread panic among the Bōya tribes inhabiting the region. At the instance of Yaṟa Timmarāju, Timmā Nāyaḍu marched against him; and having at first restored confidence in the minds of the Bōyas, he put Muṣṭafā Khān to flight and captured several elephants from him. The Muhammadan troops were chased up to the bank of the Kṛṣṇā. Then Yaṟa Timma and his lieutenant resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country. On reaching the bank of the Kṛṣṇā, they found that the Muhammadans had fortified themselves on an island in the river and were ready to contest their passage. Yaṟa Timma and his subordinate boldly attempted to cross the river; and in a bloody engagement that took place, slaughtered the Mussalmans. Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh was thus foiled in his attempt; and he returned to his capital humiliated.

The victorious troops of Yaṟa Timmarāju now crossed the Kṛṣṇā, and carried fire and sword into the enemy's country. The forts on which rested the safety of the kingdom fell into their hands one after another in quick succession. The Pathans garrisoning the fort of Dēvarakoṇḍa alone offered some resistance; but Ciṭṭēla, Pērūru, Dēvulapalli, Nāgulapāḍu, Ōḍapalli, Nallagoṇḍa, Aruvapalli, Indrakoṇḍa and other forts fell without any struggle (181-a, b). Victory crowned the attempts of the Vijayanagara army in another quarter also. Jagadēva Rāo who still exercised considerable influence over the Naigwaries garrisoning the Quṭb Shāhī forts induced them to surrender Kōvilkoṇḍa, Pānagal and Ganpura to Rāmarāja. And Ibrāhīm

* The Anonymous Historian of the Quṭb Shāhī Kings states that Jotumrāj who captured Dēvarakoṇḍa and other forts in its neighbourhood was Rāmarāja's son-in-law (Briggs *Ferishta* iii, (App.) p. 408); but according to the *Velugōṭivārivamśāvaḷi*, he was Rāmarāja's brother, Yaṟa Timmarāju.

Quṭb Shāh was forced to sue for peace. Rāmarāja promised to terminate the war and return to Vijayanagara on condition that he was allowed to retain in his possession the forts of Ganpura and Pānagal. As Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh agreed to cede the said forts as the price of peace, he marched away with all his army to his country.* This war widened the breach between Rāmarāja and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and paved the way for the disaster, which overtook the former on the battle-field of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi.

* Briggs *Ferishta* iii, App., p. 403.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BATTLE OF RĀKṢASI—TANGAḌI.

The name of the battle-field:—The Muhammadan historians state that the battle in which the Deccani Sulṭāns overthrew Rāmarāja was fought at the village of Tālikōṭa. This statement, however, does not agree with the accounts of the battle given by them, as noticed by Sewell. "In fact", says he, "the battle did not take place there, but many miles to the south of the river. Tālikōṭa is twenty-five miles north of the Kṛṣṇā. The battle took place ten miles from Rāma Rāya's camp south of the river, wherever that may have been. There is no available information on this point, but it was probably at Mudkal, the celebrated fortress...and the decisive battle seems to have been fought in the plains about the village of Bāyapur or Bhōgapur on the road leading directly from Ingaligi to Mudkal"*. The place of the famous battle has been correctly described in the Hindu records. The *Rāmarājana Bakhair*, which purports to narrate all the facts connected with the battle, locates the camp of Ramarāja in the plain between the villages of Rakkasi and Tangaḍi, where the battle is said to have been fought. This is confirmed by the village *kaifiyats*, several of which allude to this event (185). Some of them give useful information about the situation of the village which enables us to establish its identity. Though the majority of the *kaifiyats* merely assert that Rāmarāja the Great (Baḍē Rāmarāja), perished with all his army near the confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and the Malāpahārī, one of them, the *Kaifiyat of Nandiyāla*, describes the site of the battle more precisely. According to this record, "the Muhammadans who invaded (the country) put Aḷiya Rāmarāja together with his army to death at Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi in the *pargaṇa* of Honugoṇḍa near the confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Malāpahārī" (194). The Malāpahārī mentioned in the *kaifiyat* is "the modern Malaprabhā or

* *The Forgotten Empire*, p. 199, n. 2.

Malprabhā, flowing through the south of the Belgaum district and along the north of the Nawalgund and Rōṇ tālukas of Dhārwār ".* It falls into the Kṛṣṇā river in the neighbourhood of Dhānūr railway station in the Bijāpūr district. Honugoṇḍa *pargana* in which Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi is said to have been situated is identical with Hunuguṇḍa, the headquarters of one of the southern talukas in the same district. Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi is not, as noted above, the name of a single village but a compound term made up of the names of two villages, separated from each other by a distance of about ten miles. The village of Tangaḍige is situated on the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇā opposite to its junction with the Mālaprabhā and Rakkasige stands ten miles to the east of it on the same bank. The Vijayanagara army was encamped between these two villages. Hence the battle is appropriately named the battle of Rakkasi-Tangaḍi or more commonly Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi.

This gives rise to an interesting question about the actual site of the battle. Where was the battle fought, on the southern or the northern bank of the river? The battle took place, according to Ferishta, near the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇā, the Muhammadan army having succeeded in crossing the river by means of a stratagem. "The armies united and marched to the southward: they crossed the Krishna and encamped on the Hookery river situated twelve miles from the former. Rāmarāja marched to oppose them."† Sayyid 'Alī and Ibrāhīm Zabīrī agree with Ferishta in stating that the Muhammadan armies crossed the Kṛṣṇā before they encountered the Vijayanagara army, although they place the site of the battle on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇā itself.‡ The Hindu records which unanimously assert that the battle was fought on a plain outside the villages of Rakkasige and Tangaḍige, however, contradict the accounts of the Muhammadan historians. These two villages stand, as noticed already, on the northern bank of the river at a distance of ten miles from each

* Fleet: *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 497.

† Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, pp. 246–7. ‡ *I. A.* l, p. 145; *Busātīn-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 91.

other. Assuming the authenticity of the Hindu records for the nonce, the strategic importance of the Hindu camp can easily be understood. The river Kṛṣṇā flowing behind the camp protected it from any attack in the rear; the river Don which falls into the Kṛṣṇā at some distance to the east of the village of Rakkasige and a small stream which joins the same river to the west of Tangaḍige must have protected it in the flanks. If it was the object of the Muhammadans to attack the Hindu army, there was no need to cross the Kṛṣṇā. All the Muhammadan writers, whose works have been made available to us, assert that the Muhammadan armies did cross the Kṛṣṇā, though they do not agree about the site oft he battle. That is the position. Where does the truth lie?

The causes of the battle:—The causes which led to the formation of the confederacy of the Deccani Sulṭāns against Rāmarāja are described by the Muhammadan historians. They may be grouped into four classes :

(1) that Rāmarāja showed disrespect to Islam, and injured the feelings of the Mussalmans by encouraging the outrageous conduct of his soldiers during his war with the Sulṭān of Aḥmadnagar;

(2) that he behaved insolently towards the Mussalman kings and treated their representatives with contempt;

(3) that he seized their territory, notwithstanding his obligations of alliance and friendship to them; and

(4) that he became so powerful as to cause apprehension in their minds about the safety of their kingdoms.

These charges deserve careful examination; for the writers who level them at Rāmarāja are Muhammadan historians patronised by the descendants of his enemies. Of the charges mentioned above (2) and (4) may be accepted without argument, as it is not impossible that Rāmarāja should have become very powerful after his successful wars with the Deccani Sulṭāns and treated them and their representatives with contempt. The opinion of

the Mussalman historians is not unanimous about Rāmarāja's disrespect to Islam or his high-handedness in dealing with the territory of his allies. Ferishta, no doubt, asserts emphatically that " the infidels of Beejanuggur...left no cruelty unpractised. They insulted the honour of the Mussalman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not respect even the sacred Koran."* " The Hindoos of Beejanuggur committed the most outrageous devastations burning and rasing the buildings, putting up their horses in the mosques, and performing their abominable idolatrous worship in holy places."† " In the first expedition (against Ahmadnagar), when Ally Adil Shāh invited Rāmrāj to his assistance, the Hindoos committed great outrages at Ahmudnuggur and omitted no mark of disrespect to the religion of the faithful, singing and performing their abominations and superstitious worship in the very mosques."‡

According to Ferishta, therefore, Rāmarāja caused the violation of the chastity of Muslim women, destroyed their buildings, turned the mosques into cattle-pens and stables, encouraged therein the performance of the Hindu religious rites, and showed disrespect even to the holy Qur'ān. The other Muslim historians, however, do not support Ferishta. The Anonymous Historian of the Quṭb Shāhī Sulṭāns, who is most probably earlier than Ferishta, refers only to the pollution of the mosques on account of the temporary occupation by Rāmarāja's army.

'During the late wars,' says he, " he (Rāmrāj) had not only laid waste the country of Hoossein Nizām Shāh, and polluted the masjids by appropriating them to the use of his cattle and of his soldiers."§ The Anonymous Historian was not aware of the other atrocities said to have been committed by Rāmarāja and his forces. Sayyid 'Alī, the Niẓām Shāhī historian, who was a contemporary of Ferishta, alludes only to devastation caused by the war and the oppression and the death of Muslims at the hands of the 'accursed infidels.'

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* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, p. 120.

† *Ibid*, p. 121.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 122.

§ *Ibid*, App., p. 412.

"Sadāshivarāya", says he, "in the pride of his power... had invaded the territories of Islam, and deluged them in blood, and had destroyed the dwellings of the Muslims, and slain large numbers of them."*

Although Rāmarāja is said to have committed the atrocities detailed by Ferishta and the Anonymous Historian during his first attack on Ahmadnagar, it is strange that Sayyid 'Alī, who was specially interested in the history of Aḥmadnagar does not mention any of them excepting the devastation of the country and the death of Muhammadans. Sayyid 'Alī, who bore no love to 'the accursed infidels', cannot be convicted of partiality towards them. If that were so, what could be the reason for his failure to notice Rāmarājā's outrageous conduct? Very probably Rāmarāja did not indulge in these excesses. It must be remembered in this connection that Rāmarāja had a large number of Mussalmans in his service, who had as great a regard for their faith as the Deccani Muhammadan kings and their Muslim subjects. Rāmarāja treated them generously, and allowed them freedom to observe their religious practices without any restraint. According to a contemporary Muhammadan writer, Rāmarāja assigned a special quarter of the city called Turkavāḍa for their residence, and allowed them to build a mosque, where they carried on worship, as if they were dwelling in a Mussalman country. They were even permitted to sacrifice cows, notwithstanding the protests of the Brahmans and the Hindu nobles. Moreover, to ease the conscience of the Muhammadans in his service, Rāmarāja is said to have placed a copy of the Qur'ān near his seat in the durbar so that they might avoid the sin of offering salute to an infidel master.† It is evident from this that Rāmarāja showed great regard to Islam in order to please his Mussalman subjects.

Moreover, Rāmarāja was not free to do as he liked during his first expedition against Aḥmadnagar. He had many powerful Muhammadan allies on whose co-operation the success of

* *I.A.* l. (1921), p. 143.

† Shirāzī: *J.B.B. R.A.S.* xxii, p. 28.

the enterprise depended. Besides 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh on whose behalf Rāmarāja had undertaken the expedition, there were Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, Duriā 'Imād Shāh and Mubārak Shāh Farooky of Khandesh co-operating with Rāmarāja in this war. Had he behaved in the manner in which he is said to have done, they would have deserted him, if they could not have effectively prevented him from offering any sort of insult to their faith.* The fact that they neither turned against him, nor deserted him until the end of the campaign clearly indicates that they saw nothing in his conduct or that of his troops to which they could take exception.

The Hindu accounts which in their present form are later than the Muhammadan histories mentioned above, while agreeing with them that the conflict arose on account of the insult which Rāmarāja offered to the Mussalmans, describe variously the circumstances under which he came to offer it. According to the *Rāmarājana Bakhair*, a *mahaldār* in the service of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr, paid a visit to the court of Vijayanagara on some diplomatic mission; witnessed the acrobatic feats performed by the *Dommaras* in the presence of Rāmarāja, and spoke disparagingly of the Hindus and their religion, when Rāmarāja presented to them some pigs which they had asked for. Rāmarāja, who was naturally annoyed at the impudent behaviour of the Muhammadan, told him that eating pigs did not lower the Hindus; and if it lowered them, as he contended, the Muhammadans must be considered lower than the Hindus, as they subsisted upon fowls which lived upon the

* Ferishta states that during his campaign 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was 'scandalised by the behaviour of his Hindoo allies.' He 'was then much offended; but as he had not the means of preventing it, he pretended not to observe it' (Briggs : *Ferishta* iii, pp. 121, 122). According to the Anonymous Historian, however, the campaign was carried on by the obstinate insistence of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, who begged Rāmarāja not to abandon the siege of Aḥmadnagar. Rāmarāja's officers, who received bribes from Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, represented to him that it was necessary to retreat from Aḥmadnagar as the rains were approaching. Rāmarāja consented to do so. 'But 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, who knew that the besieged were suffering for want of provisions, had a conference with Rāmarāja, and begged him not to think of withdrawing till the place fell, promising to cede to him the district of Indgy, if he would only continue the siege for one month longer. Rāmarāja consented". Briggs : *Ferishta* iii, App., pp. 403-404.

excreta of the pigs. He demonstrated the truth of his statement by means of an experiment. He drove a herd of these animals into a hall the floor of which was strewn with corn and shut its doors. After allowing them to stay there for a night, he let them out in the next morning. The floor of the hall was covered with the refuse of the animals. The fowls, which were next introduced into the hall, began to rake the refuse and eat the grain which they found embedded therein. The *mahaldār* who was brought in to witness the scene was besides himself with rage. On his return to Bijāpūr, he attempted to involve his master in a war with Rāmarāja; but meeting with failure in his undertaking, he repaired to Jālnā, where the Sulṭāns of Aḥmadnagar and Gōlkoṇḍa met together to attend a musical performance. They listened to his story, and considering that an insult was offered to Islam, resolved to make war upon Rāmarāja.

The *Kaifiyat of Gutti* (184), however, gives a different account. Some Muhammadan officers, who had been in Rāmarāja's service, spat upon the ground on one occasion, when they saw a herd of pigs passing at a distance. Some of the Hindu courtiers who were ill-disposed towards them poisoned Rāmarāja's mind against them by telling him that they treated the Hindu religion with contempt. To punish them, Rāmarāja withheld their salary for a few months; and when they made persistent requests for its payment, he sent them a golden pig equivalent in value to the amount due to them. They were naturally indignant; consequently they left the service of Rāmarāja and repaired to the Sulṭān of Bhāgānagar. The Sulṭān listened to their complaint; and having resolved to make war upon Rāmarāja, entered into an alliance with the Sulṭān of Delhi and invaded the Vijayanagara kingdom.

Another story is narrated in a manuscript preserved in the Mackenzie Collection in the Library of the India Office, London. It is said that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, Quṭb Shāh and Niẓām Shāh Bhairī, who were in the service of the Rāja of Vijayanagar, were constantly in waiting upon him. Once a

faqīr came to Vijayanagara from Hindustan, and washed himself in a well which was closed by the royal command. This was brought to the notice of the Rāja, who condemned the faqīr to death for the infringement of his command. But he allowed him, on the intercession of the three Muhammadan rulers, to depart from the place, after mutilating a finger of one of his hands. The faqīr repaired to Delhi and complained to the Sulṭān, who thereupon led an army against Vijayanagara.

These stories came into existence at a time, when the real facts about Rāmarāja's final conflict with the Mussalmans were forgotten. The authors of these stories imbibed the belief made popular by the later Muhammadan historians that it arose out of Rāmarāja's outrageous conduct towards Islam, and invented stories to describe the form which his objectionable behaviour had assumed. They need not, therefore, be taken seriously into consideration in dealing with the problem. The foregoing examination of the allegation that Rāmarāja insulted Muslim faith shows that it does not bear scrutiny. If all the facts narrated by Muhammadan writers about the conditions under which Rāmarāja waged war with Aḥmadnagar are taken into account, it is not possible to believe that Rāmarāja and his forces behaved in the manner in which they are said to have done.

The accusation that Rāmarāja seized the territory of his allies does not bear examination; Ferishta, who brings forward this charge, states that Rāmarāja cast 'an evil eye on the countries of Kootb Shāh and 'Ādil Shāh', and 'despatched armies to the frontier of each, and Ally 'Ādil Shāh was compelled to purchase his forbearance by ceding the districts of Etgeer and Bagarkote; and Ibrāhīm Kootb Shāh, to obtain the same end, resigned Kōwilconḍa, Pangul, and Guntoor'.* Ferishta refers to this incident again in another context. While returning from the second expedition against Aḥmadnagar, "when the allies reached the town of Ootgy, Rāmrāj under the

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, p. 123.

pretence of foraging, halted, and took that opportunity of plundering some of the Beejapoor and Golconḍa districts, and eventually obtained from both these princes a cession of territory, before he reached his capital."*

The circumstances under which Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh surrendered the forts of Kōvilkonḍa, Pāngal and Ganpura (not Guntoor) to Rāmarāja may be first taken into consideration for the sake of convenience. Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's treacherous conduct towards Rāmarāja and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh during the first campaign against Aḥmadnagar revealed to them that he was an enemy in the guise of a friend. Therefore, when they demanded an explanation of his conduct, instead of giving them a satisfactory reply, 'he decamped', according to Ferishta, 'during the night and marched to Golconḍa.'† Although the Anonymous Historian attempts to screen the conduct of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh by stating that he remained with his allies until the end of the campaign and induced Rāmarāja to raise the siege of Aḥmadnagar by promising to cede to him the fort of Konḍapalli, his subsequent conduct makes it evident that Ferishta is nearer the truth. No sooner did Rāmarāja and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh return to their respective capitals than he joined Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and violated the treaty which the latter had concluded with Rāmarāja by investing the fort of Kalyāṇi. To punish Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's treachery Rāmarāja and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh were obliged to invade his dominions and force him to surrender, after a brilliant campaign, the three forts of Kōvilkonḍa, Pāngal, and Ganpura as a penalty for his misconduct.‡ It is evident from this that Rāmarāja did not attack Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh to lay covetous hands upon his territory but to chastise him for his treachery towards friends.

It is not known when Rāmarāja took the forts of Etgīr and Bagarkōte from the 'Ādil Shāh. Ferishta's statement that this was done on the occasion of Rāmarāja's return from the second campaign against Aḥmadnagar cannot be maintained;

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* Briggs *Ferishta* iii, p. 245. † *Ibid*, p. 240. ‡ *Ibid* iii, App., pp. 406-409.

for the 'Ādil Shāh was present in Rāmarāja's camp as an ally during his campaign against Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh in Telingāṇa.* It is not probable that the 'Ādil Shāh would have joined Rāmarāja in making war upon Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, had Rāmarāja made an attack upon him and forced him to surrender the said forts. Therefore, these forts must have passed into Rāmarāja's possession earlier. As there is no evidence to show that Rāmarāja had ever been hostile to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he acquired them during one of his campaigns against Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh.

The formation of the confederacy of the Muhammadan kings of the Deccan against Rāmarāja was not prompted by a desire to avenge the offended dignity of Islam; nor was it due to a feeling of resentment against his unjust aggressions upon their dominions. The real cause of the formation of the confederacy was the fear engendered in the minds of the Deccani Sulṭāns by the rapid growth of Rāmarāja's power. Taking advantage of the frequent quarrels which engrossed their attention, he not only recovered the territory which they had seized during his struggle with Acyuta and Salakarāju Tirumala, but succeeded in establishing his hegemony over them.† Rāmarāja's supremacy was most galling to the Muhammadan rulers. His great power coupled with their individual helplessness against him had driven them to resort to combined action. This was the real cause which induced the Muhammadan kings to forget temporarily their differences to join together in a confederacy which brought about Rāmarāja's downfall.

The formation of the confederacy:—It is not possible to describe accurately how the Muhammadan kings of the Deccan

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App., pp. 407-408.

† It is frequently suggested that Rāmarāja rose to power by fomenting quarrels among the Muhammadan kings. This is not true. A study of the Muslim histories of the Deccan reveals the fact that ever since the dismemberment of the Bahmanī kingdom, the various chiefs who asserted independence were in a state of chronic warfare. This state of affairs was also noticed by Nuniz, who observes, "there is little faith among Moors, and they bite one another like dogs and like to see one after the other destroyed." (*The Forgotten Empire*, p. 326). When the quarrelling Mussalman princes sought his support against their enemies, he naturally joined the party which gave him the greatest advantage.

came to join in a confederacy against Rāmarāja; for the evidence of the Muhammadan historians is so hopelessly contradictory that nothing can be made out of it. According to Ferishta, it was 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh who, being desirous to check the power of Rāmarāja, sent his officers to the court of the other Muhammadan kings of the Deccan with the object of forming a confederacy against him.* The Anonymous Historian claims the credit of having taken the initiative in this matter for Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, the father of his patron.† And Sayyid 'Alī puts forward a similar claim on behalf of his patron's father Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh.‡ The Muhammadan historians are thus seen to be good partisans and faithful adherents of the princes whose salt they ate. In their excessive zeal to serve the cause of their respective masters, they have sacrificed the truth, which cannot be ascertained at this distance of time. Nevertheless, it may be pointed out that of all the kings mentioned above, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh had least cause to be dissatisfied with Rāmarāja, who helped him against his enemies and enabled him to win territory at their expense. It is not probable that this prince would have taken an active part in the formation of the league. Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, who suffered much by Rāmarāja's wars, are more likely to have promoted the formation of the league than 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh.

Much uncertainty also exists about personnel of the league. Sayyid 'Alī and the Anonymous Historian mention only Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh;§ Ferishta adds 'Alī Barīd Shāh to their number, and Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad corroborates his evidence.¶ There is reason to believe that all the five Deccani Sulṭāns joined the confederacy, although Zabīrī explicitly states that Burhān 'Imād-ul-Mulk of Bērār kept aloof on account of his resentment against the Niẓām

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, p. 123. † *Ibid*, iii, App. pp. 412–13.

‡ *I.A.* 1, p. 143.

§ *Ibid*, p. 143; Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App., pp. 412–13.

¶ *Ibid*, pp. 126; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, (*Eng. Trans.*) iii, p. 141.

Shāh.* The village *kaifiyats* of the Telugu country usually refer to the death of Rāmarāja at the hands of the Five Pādshāhs (*Pañca Pāduśāhulu*) of the Deccan, who are also mentioned occasionally by name. The *Kaifiyat of Tāḍpatri* (185-h), for instance, states that "the five Turuṣka Pāduśāhus *viz.*, Quṭb Śāhu of Hyderābād, Allī Adila Śāhu of Bijāpūr, Nijām Śāhu Bahī of Ahamadnagar, Nijām Śāhu of Daulatābād, and Imād-ul-Mulk of Birāḍ-Burānpūr joined together, and waged war upon Rāmarāja". The repetition of the name of the Nijām Śāhu twice, and the omission of the name of the fifth member of the confederacy are, of course, due to mistake. The name of the Barīd Shāh must be inserted in the *kaifiyat* to make good the omission. The names of the confederates are also mentioned in the *Kaifiyat of the Town of Cuddapah* (185-p). They are said to be the Pādshāhs of Bijāpūram, Bīdar, Daulatābād and Ahmadnagar. Notwithstanding the omission or repetition of names of some of the confederates in any given *kaifiyat*, their number is invariably stated to be five. The *kaifiyats*, taken in the aggregate, furnish a full list of all the kings that joined together to fight against Rāmarāja. They make it evident that all the Muhammadan rulers of the Deccan *viz.*, the Sulṭāns of Gōlkoṇḍa, Aḥmadnagar, Bijāpūr, Bīdar and Bērār fought against Rāmarāja in the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi.

A few records, however, make the Sulṭān of Dehlī a member of the Muslim confederacy. The *Kaifiyat of Gutti* (184) and another account preserved in the India Office refer to the participation of the Dehlī Sulṭān in the battle in which Rāmarāja was killed. According to the former, the ruler of Bhāgānagar (Gōlkoṇḍa) communicated to the Sulṭān of Dehlī that Rāmarāja had offered an insult to Islām. "The king of Dehlī pondered over this matter for some time; he collected an army and despatched it to Bhāgānagar. On reaching its destination, the

* *Busātīn-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 95.

درین مهم برهان عماد الملک بسبب کدورتی که با نظام شاه داشت
همداستان نشد -

Dehlī army joined the forces of Bhāgānagar and marched against Rāmarāja, the Narapati of Ānegondi." The latter, however, makes the Sulṭān of Dehlī march in person against Rāmarāja in order to avenge the insult offered to a Muhammadan faqir. The *Rāmarājana Bakhair*, a work of uncertain date, which professes to set forth all the facts connected with the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi, identifies the Sulṭān of Dehlī with the Mughal emperor Akbar, who is, however, said to be the ruler of Jālnāpura. The participation of Akbar in this war is not impossible from a chronological point of view; but there is absolutely no evidence for presuming that he began to interest himself in the affairs of the Deccan so early in his reign. His protége, Burhān Niẓām Shāh II, who first roused his ambition for the conquest of the Deccan, reached his court only in A.D. 1588, nearly a quarter of a century after the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi. Therefore, there is no evidence available at present which makes the participation of the Sulṭan of Dehlī in the war against Rāmarāja likely.

The *Rāmarājana Bakhair* further asserts that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh did not join the confederacy whole-heartedly. While Niẓām Shāh Bhairy, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, 'Imād-ul-Mulk, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn Akbar were actively engaged in warfare against Rāmarāja, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh sat on the fence pretending loyalty to the allies as well as Rāmarāja; and he is said to have made a treacherous attack upon the latter, when his co-religionists were vanquished in battle (186). *The Keḷadinṛpavijayam,* the history of the chiefs of Ikkēri, corroborates its account. According to this work, "Kutubu Śāhu of Gōlkoṇḍa and the Nijām Śāhu, also called Bhairy Pātuśāhu of Ahamadānagara, both these kings led an attack " upon Rāmarāja. But being vanquished in battle, they entered into a secret compact with Allī Adula Śāhu; and having put Rāmarāja off his guard by pretending to sue for peace, they made a treacherous attack upon Rāmarāja's camp and captured him (187). These two works thus agree in stating that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh pretended loyalty to Rāmarāja, but tore off the mask of friendship towards the close of the war, being incited to do so by the other Muslim kings.

Although it is not possible to verify the facts mentioned in these works, they must not be dismissed without consideration; for, some of the incidents narrated by the Muhammadan historians appear to impart the semblance of reality to them. The overture of peace which the confederate Muhammadan kings are said to have made to Rāmarāja may be first taken into consideration. According to Ferishta, "the kings of the Deccan made overtures to him, promising the restitution of the districts they had taken from him on the march, in order to obtain peace, conceiving themselves unequal to cope with his formidable army. Rāmrāj, however, refused to listen to any accommodation."* "This statement seems", as observed by Heras, "inconsistent with the whole account of the battle and its preparations."†

It is incredible that the Muhammadan kings, who joined together for the purpose of crushing, Rāmarāja should have begged him for peace at the mere sight of his army. If the Muhammadan kings of the Deccan had really made overtures of peace to Rāmarāja, as recorded by Ferishta, they must have done so only after they had sustained a defeat at his hands. The *Keḷadinṛpavijayam*, which also refers to these peace parleys, gives a more probable account. It is said that Quṭb Shāh of Gōlkoṇḍa and Niẓām Shāh Bhairy of Aḥmadnagar who invaded the Vijayanagara kingdom were defeated by Rāmarāja. They came to the conclusion that without having recourse to some subterfuge, it was not possible for them to win a victory over him. "Therefore, they opened negotiations with Allī Adula Pādusāhu who was one of the principal servants of the Rāya. They excited his feelings by making an appeal to his racial love, and induced him to take an oath on his faith, god, and sword that he would keep their pact a secret. They also exacted a promise from him that he would translate his words into action"(187).

"The Kutubu Śāhu of Gōlkoṇḍa and Bhairy Nijām Śāhu of Ahamadānagar, having thus brought Adula Śāhu to their side,

* Briggs: *Ferishta*, iii p. 247.

† *Āravīḍu Dynasty*, p. 203, n.1.

put the Rāya completely off his guard by deliberately spreading a false rumour that they were desirous of concluding peace. They inspired confidence in the mind of the Rāya, and made him forgetful of his danger. Then, they found an opportunity to put their plan into action by the tricks of Allī Adula Śāhu of Vijāpura, and having joined him, they made a treacherous attack upon Rāmarāja and captured him at a place called Rakṣasa-Dangaḍi"(*Ibid*). The Muhammadan kings of the Deccan, no doubt, opened negotiations of peace with Rāmarāja, on the eve of the battle of Tālikōṭa, as stated by Ferishta, notwithstanding their determination to crush him. The real explanation of this seemingly inconsistent action is furnished in the *Keḷadinṛpa-vijayam.* The Quṭb Shāh and the Niẓām Shāh who first attacked Rāmarāja were defeated by him. Then they won over the 'Ādil Shāh to their side, and in order to create a false sense of security in Rāmarāja's mind, pretended to sue for peace.

Secondly, the statement of the *Rāmarājana Bakhair* and of the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* that Rāmarāja's defeat at Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi was due to a surprise attack of the Muhammadan kings seems to receive vague confirmation from contemporary sources. Couto who " spent almost all, if not all, his life in India after 1556 "* states " that Rāmarāya was utterly ignorant of any impending attack, and never even heard that the enemy had entered his territory till the news was brought one day while he was at dinner."† If this statement is taken to refer to the beginning of the war, it must be discarded as false; for, all the other sources unanimously declare that Rāmarāja was aware of the hostile activity of the Muhammadan kings and was fully prepared to meet their attack when it came. As Couto was in India at the time of the battle, and might have obtained information from first-hand sources, his information could not have been entirely baseless. It is not unlikely that he obtained the news of the final attack of the Muhammadan kings upon Rāmarāja's camp, and due to a misunderstanding of himself or of his informant wrongly attributed it to the beginning of the war.

* *The Rise of the Portuguese Power*, p. xi.

† *Forgotten Empire*, p. 200, n. 1.

Lastly, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh was not whole-heartedly on the side of his allies. Although he had joined them in the holy war against the infidel king, they do not seem to have been quite certain of his attitude. They even feared that he might risk an open breach with them on behalf of Rāmarāja. It was this fear that prompted them to put to death Rāmarāja as soon as he fell into their hands. The Aḥmadnagar historian, Sayyid 'Alī states that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh hastened to the camp of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh as soon as he heard of Rāmarāja's capture, 'with the design of securing the release of the accursed infidel.' 'Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh being aware that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh would press for the Rāya's release, which it would be a folly to grant, and that a refusal to grant it, would only lead to strife between the allies, and to the rupture of the alliance, commanded that Rāmarāja should be put to death before the arrival of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh.* Zabīrī corroborates Sayyid 'Alī's statement. He asserts that when Ḥakīm Qāsim Beg saw that his master, Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, showed an inclination to waste time in taunting Rāmarāja who fell into his hands, he urged that the infidel should be put to death immediately. "Send him," said the Beg, "immediately to the gallows of retribution (kill him), otherwise the 'Ādil Shāh who claims to be his son, will cause great disturbances, and will snatch Rām Rāj from your hands."† It is evident from this that the allies of 'Alī Ādil Shāh still regarded him with suspicion. He was still believed to be a friend of Rāmarāja at heart and was expected to throw his allies overboard for the sake of the infidel. The attitude ascribed to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh by these writers is more in agreement with the account of the *Rāmarājana Bakhair* and the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* than the narratives of the

* *I.A.* l., p. 194.

†*Busātīn-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 103, quoted in the *Āraviḍu Dynasty*, p. 213, n. 7. Heras gives the name of this officer as Akim Hasan Beg of Dabris; but in the published lithographic edition of the *Busātīn*, it is found as Ḥakīm Qāsim Bēg Tabrīzy.

در اثنای این حال حکیم قاسم بیگ تبریزی که از معتبران نظام شاه و
معتمدان آن درگاه بود با ضطراب تمام پیش آمده عرض نمود -

Muhammadan chroniclers. Therefore, the evidence of these two works concerning his attitude deserves careful examination.

The duration of the war:—Judging from the Muslim accounts the Muhammadan kings of the Deccan seem to have overcome Rāmarāja with comparative ease. The Muhammadan armies which assembled at Bijāpūr or Shōlāpūr advanced to the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, through Tālikōṭa, where they were opposed by Rāmarāja. A fierce engagement took place which decided the fate of the mighty Hindu empire within a few hours. The fighting commenced on the morning of 26th December, A.D. 1564,* and raged for some time in the afternoon, when Rāmarāja fell into the hands of the enemy, and the Hindus took to flight.† The battle is said to have 'lasted but a while, not the space of four hours'.‡ Considering the extent, resources and the man-power of the empire, and the huge host which Rāmarāja gathered to give battle to the Muhammadans, the ease with which the Hindu army is said to have been overthrown appears to be nothing short of a miracle. "The revenues of Rām Rāj", says Ferishta, "collected from sixty seaports and numerous flourishing cities and districts, amounted to an immense sum; which enabled him to maintain a force, against which no single king of the Mussalmans could hope to contend with the smallest prospect of success."§ To meet the confederate Muslim armies, Rāmarāja is said to have summoned "all his dependents and rājas from the banks of the Krishna as far as the island of Ceylon." According to the Anonymous Historian, he "brought together a force consisting of one hundred thousand horse, and three hundred thousand infantry."¶ Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad partly corroborates this: Rāmarāja is said to have massed 1,00,000 horse, 2,000 elephants to oppose the Muslims.‖ Sayyid 'Alī states that Tirumala and Venkaṭādri alone had under them 32,000 horse, 2,000 elephants, 3,00,000 infantry.$ Could this mighty host of seasoned warriors,

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, pp. 126–27.
† *Ibid*, pp. 126–130.
‡ *Purchas*, pp. 92–93.
§ Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, pp. 123–4.
¶ *Ibid*, App., pp. 413–14.
‖ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Bib. Ind. No. 223), iii, p. 69.
$ *I.A.* l., p. 144.

who were accustomed to contend successfully against the Mussalmans, have been annihilated—annihilated so completely as to leave no one to defend the Hindu capital—within less than four hours? Considering the conditions of warfare in India in the sixteenth century, this must have been physically impossible.

The Hindu records, which also mention the death of Rāmarāja and the annihilation of the Vijayanagara army, state that these events happened at the end of a war which lasted for a few months. The *Kaifiyat of Gutti* declares that the war extended over a period of six months (184). The *Keḷadinṛpa-vijayam*, although it does not specify the duration of the war, alludes to an engagement in which the Quṭb Shāh and the Niẓām Shāh were defeated by Rāmarāja before he was betrayed by the 'Ādil Shāh and asserts that the great battle in which Rāmarāja lost his life took place in the month of Māgha of the year Raktākṣi (Ś. S. 1486) *i.e.* January A.D. 1565. If the war had actually lasted for six months as stated in the *Kaifiyat of Gutti*, it must have commenced in July, A.D. 1564. The *Rāmarājana Bakhair* which purports to describe all the events connected with this war gives more information about its duration. Rāmarāja, according to this work, informed the nobles who assembled in his durbar on the day of Vijaya-daśami presumably of the year Raktākṣi Ś.S. 1486 (15 Sept. A.D. 1564) that the four Muhammadan rulers of the Deccan, having united their forces together, were jointly marching upon him. He commanded them to mobilise their troops and join him so that they might oppose the invaders. It is not known how long the nobles busied themselves in gathering together their levies; nor is it possible to discover the exact time of the departure of Rāmarāja with his army to the front. It is said, however, that he was captured by the Muhammadans and suffered death at their hands on Monday, Vaiśākha ba 8, Śravaṇa of the year Raktākṣi. The astronomical details mentioned in the *Bakhair* do not agree with Raktākṣi, but they work out correctly for Krōdhana. If that were the real date of Rāmarāja's death, he must have died on Monday, 23 April A.D. 1565. Before defeat overtook Rāmarāja,

he is said to have been engaged in a fierce contest of thirty-three days broken only by an interval of short duration. The preliminary engagement lasted continuously for three days; it was followed by an interval when both parties attempted to draw the 'Ādil Shāh to their side. Next came a battle of twenty-seven days which terminated indecisively; then ensued another battle of three days' duration, and this was succeeded by the treachery of the 'Ādil Shāh and the death of Rāmarāja. Thus, according to the *Rāmarājana Bakhair*, the battle between the Mussalmans and Rāmarāja was long drawn out extending over a period of more than a month's duration. The war may be considered to have commenced with the mobilisation of troops on both the sides. And it is not improbable that they must have taken a few months for assembling together, and marching to the battle-field.

The evidence of the Hindu records, it must, however, be pointed out, is not quite consistent concerning the date of Rāmarāja's death. While the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* places his death in Māgha. ba, of Raktākṣi, Ś. S. 1487 (Jan.—Feb. A. D. 1565), the *Bakhair* gives a later date.* Notwithstanding inconsistencies such as these, the Hindu records, taken as a whole, leave on the mind the impression that the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi was a grim fight which lasted at least for a month. This is confirmed in a way by the statement of the Muhammadan historians. According to Ferishta, the confederates assembled at Tālikōṭa on Dec. 26, A.D. 1564; and the death of Rāmarāja took place, as mentioned by the Anonymous Historian, only on Jan. 24, A.D. 1565. During the intervening period of one month, the confederate armies must have been engaged in fighting with the forces of Rāmarāja.

Strength of the contending parties:—It is not possible to estimate the strength of the armies that ranged against each

* A similar discrepancy is also found in the works of Mussalman writers. Sayyid 'Alī and the Anonymous Historian assign the battle to 2, Jamād-ul-Ākhir A.H. 972 and 20, Jamād II A. H. 972 respectively; (*I.A.* 1, p. 146; Briggs *Ferishta* iii, App., p. 414). Ferishta places it some days after 20, Jamād-ul-Awwal A.H. 972 (Dec. 26, A.D. 1564). Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, p. 126.

other; for the evidence on the subject is conflicting. Ferishta reckons that the Hindu army consisted of 70,000 cavalry, 90,000 infantry 'chiefly matchlock-men, besides archers and artillery-men.'* The Anonymous Historian states that Rāmarāja 'brought together a force consisting of one hundred thousand horse, and three hundred thousand infantry', to oppose the Mussalmans.† Sayyid 'Alī asserts that Rāmarāja's brothers Venkaṭādri and Tirumala had each under him 20,000 horse, 1,000 elephants and 1,00,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, 1,000 elephants, 20,000 foot respectively, besides the great host which marched under him.‡ The Portuguese writers Couto and Faria y Sousa, while agreeing with Ferishta as to the number of horse, enhance the strength of the infantry to six hundred thousand.§ And the *Rāmarājana Bakhair* gives even higher figures. The Vijayanagara army is said to have comprised 12,39,430 foot, 65,48,321 horse, 18,768 elephants 1,874,429 camels, besides a large host of other classes of fighting men, and camp followers.

Curiously enough, the Muhammadan historians, who pretend to give meticulously accurate figures about the strength of the Hindu army, have nothing to say about the Muhammadan armies. Sayyid 'Alī, who is the only writer to allude to the subject, vaguely asserts that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh 'collected very large armies,' and that Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh joined them with a 'numerous' army.¶ The *Rāmarājana Bakhair*, from which much information might be expected, gives an imperfect idea of the strength of the Muslim army. According to this work, Akbar Jalāl-ud-Dīn, who is said to have participated in this war, had under him 2,50,00,000 foot soldiers, besides 5,000 infantry guarding tents and luggage, 12,000 *kottala* horse, 1,00,000 elephants, 2,00,000 camels besides artillery and camp followers. Niẓām Shāh, and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh are said to have marched with armies equally numerous.

* Briggs: *Ferishta*, iii, p. 247. † *Ibid*, iii, App., p. 414.

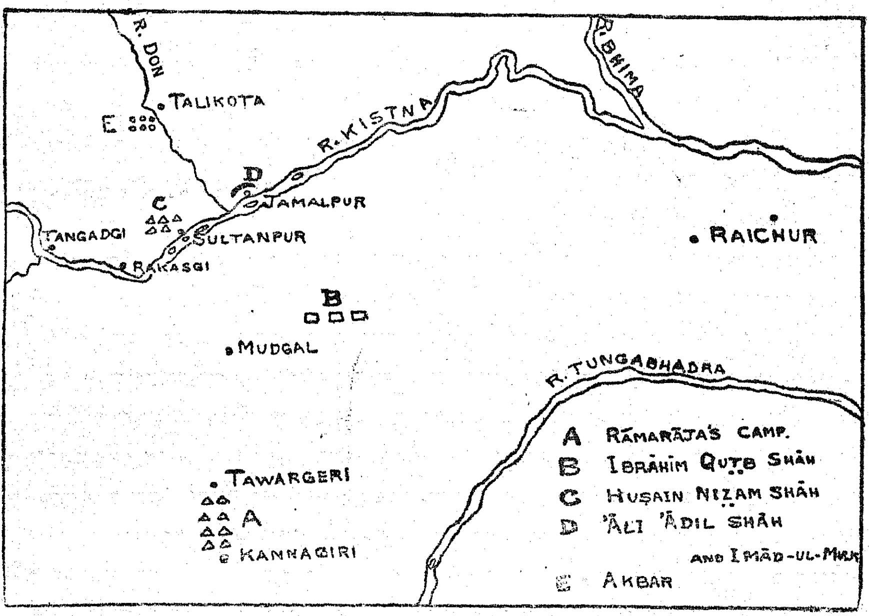
‡ *I.A.* l., p. 144. § *Āravīḍu Dynasty*, p. 201. ¶ *I.A.* l., p. 144.

Most of these figures are quite worthless to the modern historian. All that can be asserted is that large hosts were involved on either side in this historic battle.

The Battle:—The students of Vijayanagara history have long been familiar with the Muslim accounts of the battle of Tālikōṭa or Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi. These accounts cannot be fully trusted, as they come from the pen of Rāmarāja's enemies. The Hindu version of the battle which might be helpful in verifying their truth is not available. The *Rāmarājana Bakhair*, which pretends to be the report of the envoy of a nameless prince at the court of Rāmarāja, gives, no doubt, a graphic description of the battle; but as the envoy frequently betrays his ignorance of well-known facts, his evidence cannot be accepted without reservation. In the first place, he makes the Mughal emperor, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Akbar, the ruler of the petty town of Jhālnā in Deccan and asserts that he joined the Muhammadan rulers of the Deccan to wage war upon Rāmarāja. Although Akbar's participation in the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi is not, as already pointed out, impossible from a chronological point of view, it is hard to believe that it was a fact, on account of the absolute want of evidence. Secondly, the envoy does not seem to have been aware of the existence of Rāmarāja's brothers, Tirumala and Venkaṭādri, or of the part they played in the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi. Lastly, he introduces a number of Rāmarāja's officers who are otherwise unknown to history. Therefore, the evidence of *Rāmarājana Bakhair* cannot be accepted, unless it is corroborated by records of a more trustworthy character. Nevertheless, the narrative of the *Bakhair* is briefly stated here, and it may be taken for what it is worth. The *Bakhair* begins to narrate the events of the battle with a description of the disposition of the belligerent forces. The camp of the Vijayanagara army is said to have extended for eighty miles from the Tungabhadrā to the Kṛṣṇā. Rāmarāja stationed himself in the centre between the villages of Tavarageri and Kṛṣṇageri (Kannageri ?). Niẓām Shāh Bhairy crossed the

river Bhīmarathī and pitched his tents, outside the village of Sultānpūr *alias* Fīrōzābād.* Akbar Jalāl-ud-Dīn lay encamped outside the fort of Tāḷikōṭa. Quṭb Shāh took up his position between Rāicūr and Mudgal in Telingāṇa. And 'Imād-ul-Mulk of Varhāḍ together with 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh halted at the fort of Jamālghar.†

The positions which the Hindu and the Muhammadan armies are said to have occupied on the eve of the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi may be diagramatically represented as follows:



It is evident from the above sketch that the Muhammadan armies occupied both the banks of the Kṛṣṇā; the forces of the Quṭb Shāh were on the right bank of the river and on the right flank of the Vijayanagara army. The armies of the other Muhammadan rulers were all ranged on the

* The village of Sultānpūr stands on the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇā 4 miles south-east of Nalatvāḍ in the Bijāpūr district near 72° 20′ latitude.

† Jamālghar is probably identical with Jamalpūr. If this identification is admitted, Jamālghar stands on the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇā, a little below its junction with the Don. It is at a distance of about 16 miles in the south south-east of Tāḷikōṭa.

northern bank. Of the five Muhammadan rulers who massed their troops in this region, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh did not join the fight, until the Quṭb Shāh and the Niẓām Shāh were vanquished by Rāmarāja; 'Imād-ul-Mulk withdrew from the field even at the outset;* and Akbar Jalāl-ud-Dīn played but a shadowy part in the battle.† The brunt of the battle fell upon the forces of the Quṭb Shāh and the Niẓām Shāh who seem to have been more closely bound to each other than to the other members of the confederacy.

Fighting appears to have commenced with the plundering incursion of large bands of Muslim raiders into Vijayanagara territory. "Crowds of foot soldiers, Piṇḍāris, arrow-makers together with the Kaḷḷar-sepoys belonging to the Muslim armies, having crossed the Kṛṣṇā began to plunder the territory of Rājabhūvara.‡ They slew some of his subjects and carried away others as prisoners. The people of these regions began to migrate to the villages, towns, forts, and cities all over Karṇāṭaka".

Rāmarāja then posted 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot to guard the bazaar, where grain was sold to the army; and turning towards his ministers he commanded that they should station themselves with their contingents at Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi. He caused guns of different sizes, and several varieties of rockets and bombs such as *rāma-bāṇa, kumāra-bāṇa, caṇḍī-bāṇa* &c. to be distributed among the troops. Having given them presents of costly jewels and dresses, and definite instructions about the position which each officer and contingent of the army should take on the battle-field, he dismissed them. The

* It is interesting to note that the Muhammdan historians do not mention the name of 'Imād-ul-Mulk in this connection. Zabīri states explicitly that 'Imād-ul-Mulk did not join the confederates on account of his hatred of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh.

† The inclusion of the name of Akbar among the confederates is, as pointed out elsewhere, due to the blunder probably of the redactor. It is not unlikely that the original account contained the name of 'Alī Barīd in the place of Akbar.

‡ Rājabhūvara is the name by which Rāmarāja is frequently mentioned in the *Bakhair*.

army then moved forward and arrayed itself in battle order near Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi.

The confederate Sulṭāns, on hearing of the movement of Rāmarāja's army, ordered their forces also to Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi. On reaching the place, Niẓām Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh desired to combine their forces; and 'Imād-ul-Mulk, for some unknown reason, withdrew from the field. The withdrawal of 'Imād-ul-Mulk heartened the Vijayanagara army. They marched forward and attacked the Muslim forces boldly, thereby starting a fierce fight which raged violently for three days without interruption. Several people were either wounded or killed on both the sides. The Nizām Shāh and the Quṭb Shāh seem to have won some advantage over the Hindu army, for they are said to have turned back from the battle gladly, believing that god had favoured them on account of the fruit of their *karma*.

Rāmarāja then summoned some of his ministers, senior officers and captains to his presence and having distributed presents among them, commanded them to be ready with their men in the places assigned to them in the battle-field; but then they should not proceed to fight until his arrival. Next, he despatched an envoy with costly gifts to the camp of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh to remonstrate against his union with the Niẓām Shāh and the Quṭb Shāh. The 'Ādil Shāh received the envoy courteously, and protested his loyalty to Rāmarāja, declaring that although he was compelled to join the confederates, he still remained Rāmarāja's friend. He then dismissed the envoy, having bestowed upon him the customary presents which were given to the representatives of foreign rulers on such occasions. At the same time, he also sent some costly gifts to Rāmarāja with one of his own officers.

The exchange of secret embassies between Rāmarāja and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh naturally roused the indignation of the other Muhammadan kings. Therefore, they sent messengers to the 'Ādil Shāh's camp demanding an explanation of his intercourse

with the enemy. The 'Ādil Shāh who was much alarmed at the hostile character of the message, sent them a conciliatory reply which greatly pleased them.

In the meantime, Rāmarāja being reassured by the 'Ādil Shāh's message, proceeded to make arrangements to deal with the other members of the confederacy. He moved his camp to the plain outside the villages of Rākṣasi and Tangaḍi, where he set up the *raṇa-ghaṇṭā* and *raṇa-stambha,* and stationed himself in their neighbourhood. The Vijayanagara army which was massed into one large host surrounded him. Then they were engaged in a battle of twenty-seven days' duration with Akbar Jalāl-ud-Dīn who was encamped at Tāḷikōṭa. The fighting probably during the last nine hours of the battle appears to have been specially severe. Casualties were very heavy on both the sides. At this juncture, the Niẓām Shāh and the Quṭb Shāh joined Akbar Jalāl-ud-Dīn with their forces.

The officers, who were eagerly watching the movements of the Muhammadan troops, approached Rāmarāja with a request to post a contingent of 12,000 horse and 20,000 foot under a capable commander to watch the movements of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and 'Imād-ul-Mulk so that they might proceed bravely against the enemy without fear of an attack from the rear. Rāmarāja posted the necessary troops, in compliance with this request, in order to protect his army from any possible attack in the rear. Then he distributed presents among his officers and despatched them to their respective places.

The battle which then commenced raged fiercely. Akbar Jalāl-ud-Dīn having fought for a while retreated; the Niẓām Shāh and the Quṭb Shāh, however, offered determined resistance; but they could not maintain their own against the fierce onslaught of Vijayanagara troops. They were constrained to withdraw from the field. The Hindus who were naturally delighted to see the enemy retreat set fire to innumerable rockets and bombs, thereby spreading panic and death among the retreating Muslim ranks. The Niẓām Shāh and the Quṭb Shāh, however,

rallied their troops, and violently assailed the Vijayanagara army. Rāmarāja was considerably annoyed by the pertinacious opposition of the enemy. He summoned his officers and gave them fresh instructions; he then mounted on the back of an elephant,* and placing himself at the head of his troops advanced upon the enemy and a furious discharge of artillery and other fire-arms heralded his attack. Notwithstanding the frightful carnage produced by the firing of guns, rockets &c. the Mussalmans held their ground for three days and nine hours, when at last they gave way and fled. The Niẓām Shāh and the Quṭb Shāh retreated from the field and halted at a distance of twenty miles.

There was great rejoicing in the Vijayanagara army; they won a battle which was very obstinately contested. They returned to their camp and gave themselves up to feasting. The Niẓām Shāh and the Quṭb Shāh, in the meantime, sent messengers to the 'Ādil Shāh bitterly reproaching him with treachery. They charged him with disloyalty to the Mussalmans, and threatened to visit him with vengeance at a suitable time. By threats, persuasion, and cajolery, they won over the 'Ādil Shāh to their side and he gave a solemn undertaking to set right the mischief done by his neutrality.

Rāmarāja, however, was too strong to be attacked openly.† If the Muhammadans were desirous of getting the better of him, it was necessary to have recourse to some stratagem. After their recent defeat at his hands, the Niẓām Shāh and the Quṭb Shāh were naturally expected to sue for peace. They took advantage of this, and pretended to petition him for peace. They promised "the restitution of the districts which they had taken from him on the march."‡ He was not expected

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* "About noon", says Ferishta, "Rāmrāj mounted a singhasun", (Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, p. 128); but Sayyid 'Alī says that at the time of his capture Rāmarāja was riding on a horse. (*I.A.*, l. p. 193).

† Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, p. 247.

‡ The *Rāmarājana Bakhair* asserts that as soon as he won the victory Rāmarāja threw prudence to winds and neglected to take the necessary precautions for safeguarding the army. The *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* gives a good reason for this negligence. Therefore, I follow its account here.

to accept this condition. As the victor of the battle he would naturally demand more. As expected by his enemies Rāmarāja rejected these terms. Probably there was also some further show of negotiations. Rāmarāja was completely taken in. "They deliberately spread the rumour," declares the *Keḷadinṛpavijayam,* "that they were desirous of concluding peace; they inspired confidence in the mind of the Rāya that they wanted peace and made him forget his danger" (167). At the same time, they seem to have got into touch with the Mussalman officers in Rāmarāja's service and tampered with their loyalty. Rāmarāja who fully believed that the Niẓām Shāh and the Quṭb Shāh were suing for peace, neglected to take the necessary precautions to safeguard his army and camp. When the allies found that their plan was working well, they concerted measures to deliver an attack. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh joined the other Muslim rulers and made a treacherous attack upon Rāmarāja; though utterly unprepared to meet the attack, he boldly faced the enemy. "Though Rāmarājayya was a crowned monarch", declares the chronicle of Maṭli Chiefs composed about A.D. 1630, "he faced the three Pādshāhs on the battle-field; and keeping in view the conduct proper to a *kṣatriya*, he fought without turning his back upon his enemies." (238). Though he was taken by surprise, he fought so vigorously that victory appeared to favour him; however, the tide of victory was turned by the occurrence of two incidents which changed the fortunes of the day. In the first place, two prominent Muhammadan nobles who were in Rāmarāja's service and had under their command about 1,50,000 men deserted their master and went over to the side of their co-religionists: "The two traitorous Captains, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their king and made such disorder in his Army."* Secondly, in the midst of the confusion caused by the desertion of Muslim nobles, a chance shot from one of the guns of Ḥusain Niẓām

* *Purchas* x, pp. 92–3.

Shāh carried off Rāmarāja's head.* The Hindu army immediately gave up fighting. In great panic they attempted to flee, but they were surrounded and cut down to pieces. The *kaifiyats* unanimously declare that the Muhammadans destroyed Rāmarāja with all his army. This is confirmed by the evidence of the Muhammadan historians. The Anonymous Historian computes the number of the Hindu army which perished with Rāmarāja to be 1,00,000;† and Ferishta agrees with him.‡ Whatever might have been the actual number of the slain, the Hindu army was so completely wiped out that there were no men left to defend the capital.

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* The manner of Rāmarāja's death is described differently in different histories and chronicles. According to Ferishta, Rāmarāja was captured by Ḥusain Nizām Shāh's men who took him before their master, and he had him beheaded immediately (Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, pp. 130, 249). Sayyid 'Alī and Zabīri agree with him, though they differ from each other and from Ferishta about details. The *kaifiyats* corroborate the account of the Muhammadan historians mentioned above, though they attribute the act of beheading to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. The *Rāmarājana Bakhair*, however, asserts that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh shot Rāmarāja's head by means of a cannon, and sent his body to Benares to be cast into the waters of the Holy Ganges. But Nizām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, the earliest Muhammadan historian who describes the battle of Rākṣasi-Ṭangaḍi, clearly states that Rāmarāja's death was due to an unexpected happening.

چون دران ایام رام راج راجای بیجانگر که بزبان هندی به بیدیانگر
اشتهار دارد، قوت و غلبهٔ تمام داشت، حسین نظام الملک به اتفاق
عادل خان و قطب الملک و ملک برید بر سر رام راج رفت، و
رام راج با یک لک سوار و دو هزار فیل در برابر آمده معرکهٔ قتال بر
آراست. و نزدیک بود که این چهار کس هزیمت یابند که از قضای آسمانی
توپی که از جانب حسین نظام الملک به رام راج رسیده به قتل آمد و
لشکر او به هزیمت افتاد.

Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī iii, (Bib. Ind. No. 223), p. 69.

Nizām-ud-Dīn completed his history within three decades of the death of Rāmarāja. As he was a contemporary who did not share the bias of the Deccani Muhammadans against Rāmarāja, he seems to give a true account of the circumstances under which Rāmarāja met his death.

† Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, (App.), p. 414.

† *Ibid* iii, p. 130.

CHAPTER XXII.

LAST PHASE OF SADĀŚIVA'S REIGN.

The death of Rāmarāja and the annihilation of the army in the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi stupefied the people of Vijayanagara. The city and the empire were left without an army to defend them or a leader to gather forces for reorganizing defence. A vague sense of fear seems to have taken possession of the minds of the people, and their morale was completely broken. The few leaders that survived the disaster lost confidence in themselves, and abandoned the capital to the tender mercies of the Muhammadans and the Hindu marauders, who came in their wake, so that they might not run the risk of losing their precious lives. Tirumala, the only surviving brother of Rāmarāja, who might have done something to restore confidence in the minds of the people and gather fresh forces for the protection of the capital, displayed greater zeal in carrying away the hoarded wealth of the royal family to a place of safety than in preparing the city to withstand the impending Mussalman attack. He left the city with the wives and children of himself and his brothers,* taking with him wealth consisting of 'gold, diamonds and precious stones, coins of the Empire and other things of this kind, valued at more than a hundred millions sterling', loaded on the backs of the thousand five hundred and fifty elephants.† The emperor Sadāśiva who is said to have been in prison had to accompany him. Such of the nobles that were in the capital, no doubt, followed the captive emperor and his regent. The city thus left without any authority to maintain order fell an easy victim to thieves and robbers. Soon the Muhammadans came spreading death and destruction. They entered the city without any resistance, smashed the idols, demolished the temples, set fire to the palaces and buildings, plundered the

* *Purchas* x, p. 93.

† Çouto quoted in the *Āraviḍu Dynasty*, p. 222.

people, abducted women and enslaved the men. The poet Rudra refers to the spoliation of Vijayanagara by the Muhammadans, in his *Niranku*ś*ōpākhyānam.** The sack of the city is frequently alluded to in the *kaifiyats*. The *Kaifiyat of Puṣpagiri*, for instance, states that the Muhammadans plundered the royal palaces and temples (185-n); the *Kaifiyat of the Town of Cuddapah* declares that they set fire to the city, palaces and temples and plundered the country (185-p.). The *Kālajñāna* attributed to the Lingayat Saint, Emmeya Basava, alludes to the burning of the palaces of Kṛṣṇarāya and Acyuta.† During the six months, when the Muhammadans halted at Vijayanagara, they ravaged the neighbourhood most systematically. Not one village in the whole of *Rāyala-sīma* escaped the Muhammadan scourge. People fled in panic from their homes and took refuge in hills and jungles, or migrated to remote places. When, at last, the Muhammadans departed from Vijayanagara, they left the city and its neighbourhood a vast heap of smouldering ruins. No houses escaped fire; no temples remained undestroyed; and no idols stood with all their limbs intact.

Though Vijayanagara was sacked and plundered it was not destroyed. After the departure of the Mussalmans, most of the inhabitants returned. But it ceased to be the seat of the government, and fell gradually into decay. The cause which contributed to the ruin of the city is said to be its desertion by the inhabitants, owing to the fear of Mussalman attacks.‡ This cannot be true; for, it retained some of its former grandeur and remained under its Hindu masters almost up to the extinction of the power of the Rāyas. Therefore, the city could not have been abandoned by the people, on account of the fear engendered by the Mussalman attacks.

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* 2:42 'చేరి కన్నడభూమిఁ జెఱవట్టు పాశ్చాత్యనృపతిశైన నాకింత కృపదలిర్చు.'

† ಮಾತಂಗಗೋಪುರ ಸಿಡಿಲೆಬಿಗಿ ಪಾತಾಳವಾತೆಂಡು ಹೋದೀತು. ತುದಿವೊದಲು ಪರಿಯಂತ್ರ ರಾವು ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಣವಟುಂದೆ ಹೇವುವತೆಗದಾರು. ಸೋಮಸೂರ್ಯ ಬೀದಿ ಹೊಗೆಗಳುಕವಿದಾವು. ಅಚ್ಯುತ ಕೃಷ್ಣರ ಯರ ಮನೆ ಸುಟ್ಟಾವು, ಅವನ, ರಚ್ಚೆಯು ಕಟಿಯು ಕಿಚ್ಚಿಲಿ ಬಿದ್ದೀತ & c. *Mad. G. O. Mss. Libr.* 19-4-21.

‡ Heras: *The Āraviḍu Dynasty*, p. 206.

The real cause of the decay of the city was due to the abandonment of the city by the government. The prosperity of Vijayanagara was dependent upon its position as the metropolis of a great empire. When the imperial government shifted their headquarters from the city, the source of its prosperity ran dry; and consequently, it fell into decay. The cause of the change of their headquarters by the government was not also the fear of Muhammadan invasions; for, in the first place, Tirumala, who assumed the regency of the kingdom after his brother's death, returned to Vijayanagara as soon as the Muhammadans had departed, and attempted to revive its prosperity by inviting foreign merchants to come back to the city and resume their old mercantile relations;* but he does not appear to have stayed there long; for, according to the Muslim historians, Tirumala was already ruling from Penugoṇḍa, when he was called on to join the alliance of the Sūlṭāns of Aḥmadnagar and Gōlkoṇḍa in A.D. 1566.† Therefore, he appears to have abandoned Vijayanagara a few months after his return to it in A.D. 1566. As there was no fear of Muhammadan invasion at that time, his desertion of the capital must have been due to some other reason. He seems to have changed his capital in order to avoid family dissensions. It may be remembered in this connection that Rāmarāja was ruling the kingdom as a co-regent of Sadāśiva in the years preceding the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi and that Tirumala was closely associated with him in the administration of the kingdom. On Rāmarāja's death at Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi, Tirumala became the regent and the sole guardian of the emperor Sadāśiva and manifested a desire to assume the royal titles and found a dynasty. Rāmarāja, however, did not die without issue; he had several grown up sons who held places of responsibility under his government. Of these, Kṛṣṇapa and Pedda Tirumala, his offspring by Tirumalāmbā, the daughter of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, deserve special mention in this context. Kṛṣṇapa appears to have died with his father at

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* *Purchas* x, p. 94.

† Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App., p. 418; *I.A.* l., p. 205.

Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi; but Peda Tirumala, or Timma, as he was called by his contemporaries, naturally desired to succeed his father;* but he was prevented from attaining his object by his uncle Tirumala, who by his age, long association with the Rāya, and experience in the administration of the empire, acquired great influence in the country. But as a grandson of the emperor Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, Peda Tirumala's claim to be Sadāśiva's co-regent was uncontestably superior to that of his uncle. And very probably he had on his side the sympathy and support of the people of Vijayanagara. Tirumala must have found the atmosphere of the capital uncongenial to the advancement of his plans. Therefore, he left Vijayanagara and retired to Penugoṇḍa, where he could prosecute his designs unhampered. As Tirumala ultimately succeeded in seizing the throne with the help of the nobles such as Immaḍi Jagadēva Rāo, (205) Penugoṇḍa became the capital of the empire; and consequently Vijayanagara, having lost its importance, fell into ruins in course of time.

The period of anarchy:—The interval between the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi and the accession of Tirumala to the throne at Penugoṇḍa is invariably described as a period of anarchy in the *kaifiyats*. During these six years (191), the empire passed through the most critical period of its existence; internal dissensions and petty warfare rent its unity; and foreign invasions battered it from outside. Although Tirumala took the place of Rāmarāja as the guardian of the empire, he found it hard to maintain his position. Rāmarāja's evil policy, which resulted in the destruction of the civil service, and the exaltation of his relations and dependents, bore bitter fruit; most of his relations and dependents who held estates under government showed no inclination to obey its behests. They were, on the contrary, busy maturing plans of self-aggrandisement. The hostility of Peda Tirumala to his uncle has already been noticed. He not only defied him but was actually seeking help from abroad to subvert his authority.† Another of his relations

* See Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, pp. 131, 251.

† *Ibid*, p. 131.

Konēṭi Koṇḍrāju who was the commandant of the fort of Ādavāni declared his independence (190-a)*. Vēlapa Rāy, one of Rāmarāja's principal dependents who held the fief of Bankāpūr, asserted his independence after the death of his master and reduced the neighbouring nāyaks to subjection.† The other chiefs in the neighbourhood followed their example. The unsettled condition of the country favoured the growth of crime; and people suffered considerably at the hands of dacoits and *pāḷaigārs*. "As there was no ruler for six years", declares one record, "the people of the village fled in all directions, unable to endure the tyranny of the *pāḷaigārs*".‡ "Anarchy prevailed in the country," says another, "up to Ś. S. 1492, Pramōdūta; and the people were considerably harassed by thieves and the uncertainty caused by unsettled government."§ (190).

This was the condition of the Telugu districts of the empire; and the state of the Canarese districts could not have been different. The southern part of the empire was, no doubt, beyond the reach of the Mussalman invaders; but it was not, however, left undisturbed. The nāyaks who held fiefs disturbed the peace of the country. They began to fight with one another for the purpose of self-aggrandisement. In the extreme south of the empire, Kṛṣṇappa, the son of Viśvanātha Nāyaka, who held the Tiruvaḍi-*dēśa* in *amaram* began to subdue the neighbouring chiefs; he was so successful in his task that he established himself within a short time at Madura and laid claim to dominion over the whole country south of the Kāvērī. Similarly, Acyutappa Nāyaka who was enjoying the *amaram* of a few *sīmas* in the Tanjore district usurped the authority over the Cōḷa country; and Kṛṣṇappa, the commandant of Gingee, seized a large part of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Tirumala was helpless against all these treasonous activities. To arrest the progress of disintegration, he required an army. As the army was completely destroyed at Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi, and as the coffers of

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* Briggs: *Ferishta*, p. 134; *L.R.* 10, p. 37.   † Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, p. 136.

‡ *L. R.* 34, pp. 163-64.   § *L. R.* 11, p. 299.

the state were exhausted, and the kingdom was thoroughly plundered, he was without any military force to back up his authority. But Tirumala did not lose heart; to save the empire from dissolution he set to work with a stern determination. He resolved to equip himself with an army, and was not very particular about the means he adopted in realising his object. He invited horse dealers from Goa and other places, promising good prices for the horses they might bring. When they came, he took possession of the horses and sent them away without paying the price.* He could not, as a matter of fact, afford to be very scrupulous about his methods, as he had no money to pay for the horses which he very badly needed.

While Tirumala was still engaged in recuperating his strength, he was called upon to defend the kingdom from foreign invasion. Rāmarāja's son Peda Tirumala entertained, as pointed out already, the ambition of succeeding his father as Sadāśiva's co-regent; but was prevented from attaining his object by Tirumala. Therefore, he seems to have sought the help of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, to overcome the opposition of his uncle and to establish himself at Vijayanagara as the supreme lord of the empire. The 'Ādil Shāh, who welcomed this opportunity, as it favoured the expansion of his dominions, "moved with an army to Anagoondy, in order to place Timrāj, the son of Rāmrāj, on the masnad of Penkoṇḍa and to depose Tirumala," † who was hardly in a condition to defend himself. A contingent under Kasr (Khizr ?) Khān had proceeded to Penugoṇḍa, and laid siege to the fort which was just then rebuilt. If the 'Ādil Khān expected to profit himself by the misfortunes that overtook the kingdom of Vijayanagara, he was soon undeceived. Savaram Cennappa Nāyaka, the commandant of the fort, who was an officer of exceptional ability, defeated him and put him to flight.‡ At the same time, Tirumala, who was trained in Rāmarāja's school of diplomacy, sent an ambassador to the court of Aḥmadnagar to play upon

* *Purchas* x, p. 94. † Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, pp. 131, 251.

‡ *S. I. I.* vii, No. 563; 336 of 1901.

the jealousy of the Nizām Shāh and obtain relief from him. Khunja Sultānā, who governed the kingdom on behalf of Murtaṣā Nizām Shāh, "unwilling to witness the aggrandisement of Beejapoor and acting by the advice of Moolla Inayut Oolla, took her son with her, and marched at the head of an army to Beejapoor." The Nizām Shāh's invasion of the Bijāpūr kingdom produced the desired result. And "Ally Adil Shāh was compelled to retreat expeditiously from Anagoondy".*

Tirumala managed in this manner to ward off 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh's attack; and by a favourable turn of events, he was able to carry the war into the enemy's territories. For, the Nizām Shāh and the Quṭb Shāh, who were embroiled in a war with the 'Ādil Shāh, invited Tirumala to join them against him. In response to this invitation, he sent one of his sons at the head of ten thousand troops.† Tirumala gained nothing by this alliance; instead he brought upon himself another attack of the 'Ādil Shāh, who, having squared up his differences with the Sultāns of Aḥmadnagar and Gōlkoṇḍa, turned his attention to Tirumala in order to punish him for making common cause with his enemies. He marched in A.D. 1568 with an army against the fort of Ādōni, an important stronghold on the bank of the Tungabhadrā, which barred the advance of Muslim armies to the south, and fought several battles with its chief, Kōnēṭi Koṇḍamarāju, and succeeded ultimately in forcing him to take shelter within his fortress, which he closely invested.‡ At the same time, he despatched an army under Mali Khān against Penugoṇḍa with the object probably of preventing any possible help reaching him from that place. On arriving at Penugoṇḍa, Mali Khān laid siege to the fort, but was defeated by Savaram Cennappa and driven away.§ Though Penugoṇḍa was freed from the Muhammadan peril, Ādōṇi could not get rid of it, as its chief could not singly maintain his own against the powerful armies of the Sultān of Bijāpūr (190-m).

* Brigg's : *Ferishta* iii, p. 132.

† *I. A.* l., p. 205.

‡ Briggs : *Ferishta* iii, p. 134.

§ *S. I. I.* vii, Nos. 463, 336 of 1901.

Notwithstanding the loss of outlying places like Ādōni, Tirumala managed to hold the bulk of the empire together. The circumstances which enabled him to overcome the obstacles besetting his path, and the means which he adopted in accomplishing his object are little known. He must have been supported by many powerful nāyaks who still remained loyal to the empire. Savaram Cennappa rendered, as already noticed, much help to Tirumala by successfully defending his new capital from successive Mussalman attacks; Immaḍi Jagadēva Rao, who claims to have crowned not only Rāmarāja but also Tirumala as well as his sons, (205) must have played an important part in establishing his power. Moreover, Tirumala won over to his side some of the most powerful nāyaks such as those of Madura, Tanjore, and Gingee by tacitly approving of their usurpations. In order to keep the nāyaks under control, he divided the empire into three sub-divisions roughly corresponding to the three main linguistic areas of which it was composed, and entrusted the government of each of them to one of his three sons. According to this arrangement, his eldest son, Śrīranga became the ruler of the Telugu area with Penugoṇḍa as his headquarters; Rāma, his second son, began to rule the Canarese districts from Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam, and Venkaṭapati, the youngest, assumed the governorship of the Tamil country, and carried on its administration from Candragiri in the Chittoor district. Having successfully accomplished the task of rejuvenating the empire, Tirumala assumed the well-earned title of 'the reviver of the decadent Karṇāṭaka empire',* and had himself formally crowned in A.D. 1570 as the emperor of Penugoṇḍa. His reign was very brief. Tirumala, who must have been a very old man at the time of his coronation, appears to have retired from public life in A.D. 1571 after a short reign of eleven months, and was succeeded by his son, Śrīranga I.

During the interval of six years which lasted between the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi and his own coronation, Tirumala

* *Vasucaritram* : 1: 13.

succeeded in firmly establishing his authority over the empire. However, the empire over which he came to rule was different in character from the old empire. It lost its unitary character. The nāyaks, who were absolutely dependent upon the royal will, acquired during the years of anarchy succeeding the battle of Rākṣasi-Taṅgaḍi a status of semi-independence. They managed to transform the temporary occupation of their *amarams* into permanent, hereditary estates. It was no longer possible for the Rāya to resume the *amaram* of a nāyak or confer it upon another without having resort to military force. The belief that the Rāya was entitled to claim only a fixed sum of money as tribute over the *amaram* estates took deep root in the minds of the nāyaks. Therefore, any attempt on his part to interfere with their estates met with strong opposition. Thus, the empire of which the Rāya was the absolute master was transformed into a conglomeration of semi-independent principalities without much cohesion to keep them together permanently. Nevertheless, the service which Tirumala rendered to the empire and the cause of Hindu independence cannot be easily overestimated. He saved the heritage of the race by prolonging the life of the empire for nearly another century, until Śivāji and the Mahratta nation came forward to take up the charge.

Was Sadāśiva assassinated?—It is generally asserted that the emperor Sadāśiva did not die a natural death but was assassinated in the prison where he was confined either by Tirumala himself or by one of his sons. Sewell expressed the opinion that "in 1568 (so it is said) Tirumala murdered his sovereign, Sadāśiva and seized the throne for himself."* Heras is of opinion that Tirumala did not himself commit the crime, but he was "an accomplice or abettor."† These opinions are based upon Cæsar Frederick's observation that one of the sons

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* *Forgotten Empire*, p. 212. But he changed his opinion later. In his *Historical Inscriptions* (p. 260), he states, "the date of king Sadāśiva's death is not known. He may have died in 1570, or may have survived in retirement."

† *Āraviḍu Dynasty*, p. 245.

of Tirumala "had put to death the lawful king which he had in prison" in A.D. 1567.* But Frederick's statement does not appear to be true; for, in the first place, the village *kaifiyats* unanimously declare that Sadāśiva ruled for six years after the battle of Rākṣasi-Taṅgaḍi; and secondly the inscriptions clearly show that he was not only alive but continued to rule up to A.D. 1576 from Vijayanagara. An inscription of Sembēḍu in South Arcot district dated 9 May, A.D. 1575 asserts that Sadāśiva was the ruling sovereign at that time.† An epigraph of Bhagataraha̤ḷḷi in the Kōlār district of the Mysore State declares that Sadāśiva was ruling seated on the Jewelled-Throne on 25 Jan., A.D. 1576.‡ Another record dated A.D. 1576 corroborates the evidence of the inscriptions mentioned above.§ It is evident from this that Sadāśiva could not have been murdered either by Tirumala or his son in A.D. 1568. As a matter of fact, Sadāśiva, whether in prison or outside, was so docile that he never caused one moment's anxiety to Tirumala. There was no reason why Tirumala should attempt to get rid of him by means of assassination. Therefore, the information which Cæsar Frederick obtained regarding the assassination of Sadāśiva must have been false. There is reason to believe that the nāyaks who were desirous of repudiating Tirumala's authority purposely spread a false rumour to create disaffection in the minds of people against him; for, according to Frederick 'the Barons and the Noblemen in that Kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their King', because 'the Sonne of this Temeragio had put to death the lawfull King.'¶ Since Sadāśiva was alive until A.D. 1576, the rumour of his assassination must have been spread by interested people who stood to gain by discrediting Tirumala and his family.

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* *Purchas* x, p. 97. † 5 of 1919. ‡ *E. C.* x, Ct. 82

§ *Mac. Mss.* 15-3-53. ¶ *Purchas.* x, p. 97.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ŚRĪRANGA I.

The reign of Tirumala lasted, as mentioned already, for a short time. After a rule of eleven months or one year, he seems to have entrusted the administration of the kingdom to his eldest surviving son, Śrīranga, and retired from public life;* for, although Śrīranga was ruling from A.D. 1572-73,† Tirumala also is mentioned as the ruling sovereign as late as A.D. 1578.‡ The *kaifiyats* give more information which enable us to fix the date of Śrīranga's accession to the throne. The date Ś.S. 1490 Vibhava which is given as the year of his coronation in the *Kaifiyat of Pedapasupula* is clearly erroneous (200-b); for, the coronation of his father Tirumala was not celebrated until Ś.S. 1492. The *Kaifiyat of Koṇḍavīḍu* cites an inscription engraved on one of the pillars of the temple of Gangādhara Rāmēśvara to show that Tirumala was ruling in Ś.S. 1494 Āngirasa, Vaiśākha, śu. 12, (24 April, A.D. 1572) (197); it asserts further that his rule came to an end during that year. The *Vijayanagara Sāmrājyamu* states that Śrīranga I died in Pārthiva (A.D. 1585-86), having completed a reign of fourteen years (19). This gives A.D. 1571-72 as the first year of Śrīranga's reign. The *Vīrappaya Kālajñāna* declares that Śrīranga I commenced to rule the kingdom on ba. 15, Vaiśākha of Āngirasa (Ś.S. 1494), *i.e.* May 11, A.D., 1572 (16). This is not unlikely; for in an epigraph of Śrīperumbūdūr dated 9th July, A.D. 1572, Venkaṭapati, who was governing the Tamil country from Candragiri, acknowledges his brother, Śrīranga, as his sovereign.§ It is obvious that his accession took place some time between 24th April and 9th July of the year A.D. 1572. It is evident that a few months after his

* Heras does not believe that Tirumala retired from the government. "I cannot," says he, "support this statement with any contemporary authority." *Āravīḍu Dynasty*, p. 260.

† 185 of 1922. ‡ *M.A.R.* 1927, No. 89. § 185 of 1922.

coronation Tirumala entrusted the administration of the empire to Śrīranga and retired from public life.

Śrīranga, who had thus taken charge of the kingdom, had an arduous task to perform. The country had not yet recovered from the frightful shock of the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi. The villages were still desolate; the fields remained uncultivated; and the worship in the temples was not restored. To aggravate the situation the Muhammadans invaded the country frequently; and the *pāḷaigārs* and petty chiefs not only defied the authority of the imperial government but began to wage war upon one another.

Two Mussalman invasions, which resulted in the permanent loss of territory to the empire, took place during the reign of Śrīranga I. The earlier of these invasions came in A.D. 1576. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr, assembled a large army at Ādōni; and he marched at the head of the army, accompanied by the traitorous Haṇḍe Chief Timmā Nāyaka to Penugoṇḍa with the object of seizing it; but Śrīranga, on hearing of the approach of the enemy, entrusted the defence of his capital to the valiant Savaram chief, Cennappa, and repaired to the fort of Candragiri with all the treasures. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh reached Penugoṇḍa, and invested it closely for three months;* but he could not take it, on account of Cennappa's stout opposition. In the meantime, Śrīranga made strenuous efforts to drive the besiegers from his capital. He sent an envoy to Gōlkoṇḍa soliciting help from Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. The envoy was successful in his mission; and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh promised to support Śrīranga, on account of his enmity with the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr. He despatched his general Shāh Muḥammad Anju in advance to plunder the frontiers of the Bijāpūr kingdom and proceeded with a large army southward to support Śrīranga.† At the same time, he sent one of his officers Fazl Khān to Candragiri with instructions to conclude a pact with the Rāya. Fazl Khān was so

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, p. 141. † *Ibid*, iii, App., p. 435.

successful in the execution of his mission that he persuaded Śrīranga to accompany him to the camp of his master and conclude an alliance with him personally.*

Śrīranga did not depend exclusively on the help of the Quṭb Shāh for the expulsion of the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr. He attempted to bring about a cleavage between the 'Ādil Shāh and Haṇḍe Timmā Nāyaka. He is said to have offered a large bribe to Timma, and induced him not only to desert the

* *Sources*, p. 237. During the course of this invasion, Śrīranga is said to have been defeated in a battle and taken prisoner by the 'Ādil Shāh. "Ranga set out", says Heras, "from Penugoṇḍa to check this expedition. When the two armies met, a great battle ensued in the course of which the Emperor Ranga unfortunately fell a prisoner into the hands of 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh". (*Āravīḍu Dynasty*, p. 270). But S. K. Ayyangar believes that Ranga was taken a prisoner by the Sultān of Gōlkoṇḍa, during one of his expeditions into the kingdom of Vijayanagara. "Śrīranga had like his father," says he, "to stand a siege in Penugoṇḍa by the Sultān of Gōlkoṇḍa, possibly with the assistance of one of his brother Sulṭāns. In the course of the wars connected with this, he was defeated, and he fell a prisoner into the hands of the Muhammadans. This happened about the year 1579-80". (*Sources* p. 19.) These statements are based on a passage of the *Annals of Haṇḍe Anantapur* or *The Wars of the Rājās*, a document of doutful value. According to this work, Haṇḍe Hanumappa Nāyaḍu, who ruled from A.D. 1583-84 to 1595-96 was succeeded in the government of his estate by his son, Malakappa. While Malakappa was governing his estate, the Muhammadans marched from the north to seize Vijayanagara and halted at Kalyāṇa-Kalbarga. Śrīranga, who went on a royal tour towards Candragiri, returned to Vijayanagara and having hastened to Kalyāṇa-Kalbarga with his army accompanied by Malakappa, fought a battle with the Muhammadans and inflicted a defeat upon them. In the cyclic year Vikāri (Ś.S. 1521, A.D. 1599), the Pādshās came to Vijayanagara once again with their army. Śrīranga Rāya, who was not able to cope with them, was defeated and taken prisoner.

The evidence of this document cannot be trusted absolutely, as it teems with improbabilities. In the first place, the dates furnished by this work are false. Śrīranga died long before A.D. 1599, the date of his supposed captivity. Secondly, Vijayanagara ceased to be the capital of the empire since the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi, and it was never the capital of Śrīranga. Thirdly, although it does not mention the names of the Pādshas, who attacked Śrīranga, it definitely indicates that they were northerners who 'marched from the north' 'and halted at Kalyāṇa-Kalbarga." The Sultān of Aḥmadnagar might have been one of them; and it is not possible even to guess who the others were. The Sultān of Aḥmadnagar never joined in an attack against Vijayanagara subsequent to A.D. 1565; and there is absolutely no evidence to show that there was a combined attack of the Muhammadan kings on Vijayanagara subsequent to this date and that Śrīranga ever led his troops as far north as Kalyāṇa-Kalbarga. The Muhammadan historians, specially the Anonymous Historian, who takes particular care to enumerate the names of the Hindu princes taken by the Muhammadans, do not refer to Śrīranga's captivity. Therefore, it is not possible to accept the facts mentioned in the *Annals of Haṇḍe Anantapūr*, unless we get evidence more trustworthy in character.

'Ādil Shāh but to harass his camp. Cennappa Nāyaka who seems to have been closely watching the state of affairs in the 'Ādil Shāh's camp sallied from the fort, and inflicted a defeat upon his army, on 21 December, A.D. 1576.* As a consequence of this defeat, and the formation of alliance between Śrīranga and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was obliged to raise the siege of Penugoṇḍa and retreat towards his own kingdom.†

The invasion of the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa :-The expulsion of the 'Ādil Shāhī forces did not free the kingdom from the fear of foreign invasion. Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh forgot his recent alliance with Śrīranga, and set out with a large army to conquer the Karṇāṭa kingdom in A.D. 1579. The Anonymous Historian attributes it to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's desire to collect the tribute due to his estate from the chiefs Venkaṭādri, Kustury Timrāj, and Nursing Row. These chiefs are said to have entered into an agreement with Ibrāhīm's father Qūli Quṭb Shāh to pay him an annual tribute of two lakhs of *huns*, when that chief reduced Koṇḍavīḍu ; but did not pay it for the past few years.‡ It is not possible to know how far this is true. It is curious that Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh failed to make good his claim up to A.D. 1580, although he had several opportunities for bringing these recalcitrant nobles to book during the years following the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi. The real cause of the invasion was the anarchy prevailing in the Karṇāṭa country. Most of the nobles were involved in a feud between the Sāri and Maṭli families ; and they were not in a mood to care for the larger interests of the empire. Moreover, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh appears to have received promises of support from some of the nobles, specially the members of the Haṇḍe family, who expected to push forward the fortunes of their family. He found the opportunity favourable for the expansion of his dominions. Therefore, he resolved to despatch an expedition into the Vijayanagara dominions, and seize as much territory as he could.

* 336 of 1901; *S.I.I.* vii, 563.

† Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App., p. 435.

‡ Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App. p. 435.

The Gōlkoṇḍa army seems to have swept over the northern districts of the Vijayanagara empire in two large waves. In Ś.S. 1500 Bahudhānya (A.D. 1578-9)*, an army under Murahari Rao crossed the river Kṛṣṇā, and laid waste the eastern taluks of the present Kurnool district with the assistance of the Haṇḍe chiefs, Malakappa and Kadambarāya, who had rebelled against Śrīranga and made common cause with the enemy (200-b). This Murahari Row was a Brahman by birth and a Mahratta by nationality. He rose to great prominence in the service of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and became 'in every respect the second person in the state, not even excepting the princes of the blood-royal'.† Though a Hindu by faith, he behaved worse than a Mussalman during this expedition. He attacked the famous shrine of Narasimha at Ahōbaḷam, and 'sacked it of its idols, made of gold and silver and studded with rubies';‡ and sent them together with four lakhs of *huns* which he exacted from the inhabitants of the region as presents to his master. § This is confirmed by the evidence of an inscription at Ahōbaḷam according to which Ibrāhīm Pādshāh having joined the Haṇḍe chiefs plundered the district and sacked the famous shrine of Ahōbalēśvara.¶ On this occasion, he carried away some vessels of gold and silver which escaped the hands of plunderers in A.D. 1565. The invaders caused great commotion throughout the country, plundered and devastated the villages. The country was annexed and was placed under the control of the Haṇḍe chiefs as a reward for their treachery.

The Haṇḍe chiefs, however, could not keep their hold upon the conquered territory long. The Jīyar of the Śrīvaiṣṇava maṭha at Ahōbaḷam who was driven out of the

* *Sources*, p. 235. † *Ibid*, pp. 233, 235; Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App., p. 444.

‡ The Anonymous Historian, who alludes to this incident, states that the temple was in the neighbourhood of Ādōni. As there was no temple in the neighbourhood of Ādōni famous and rich enough to excite the zeal and cupidity of the Mussalmans, and as the famous shrine of Ahōbaḷam was plundered in the selfsame year by the armies of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, it is not unreasonable to believe that the Anonymous Historian ha in his mind the temple of Ahōbaḷam, when he spoke of the shrine in the neighbourhood of Ādōni.

§ Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App., p. 444. ¶ *Sources*, p. 235.

place repaired to Penugoṇḍa and having given an account of the havoc caused by the invaders to the Rāya requested him to reconquer the country from the Mussalmans and restore to the temple its former glory. Although Śrīranga undertook to lead the expedition against the Muhammadans personally, the Jīyar dissuaded him, and begged him instead to commission the Telugu Cōḷa chief, Koṇḍrāju Venkaṭarāju, to perform the task. Accordingly, Śrīranga commanded Venkaṭarāju to proceed against the Muhammadans, and expel them from the kingdom. On the receipt of the royal order, Venkaṭarāju marched against the Haṇḍe chiefs, and their allies in A.D. 1579, defeated them in battle, and having annexed their estates, busied himself with the reconstruction of the shrine at Ahōbaḷam.

The success of Koṇḍrāju Venkaṭarāju seems to have infuriated Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. As soon as he heard of the defeat of the Haṇḍe chiefs he despatched a strong army against Vijayanagara kingdom under Ḥaider-ul-Mulk, probably one of the officers serving under Murahari Row, with instructions to subjugate the Koṇḍavīḍu-*rājya*. The army which started from Gōlkoṇḍa on 29 March, A.D. 1589, seems to have crossed the Kṛṣṇā somewhere in the neighbourhood of Koṇḍapally, and captured Bellamkoṇḍa and Vinukoṇḍa after severe fighting. Then turning west, they entered the district of Mācerla, and having subdued the fort of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, took possession of the country. Next they proceeded against Koccerlakōṭa in the Darśi division of the Nellore district, where the Vēlama chiefs, Velugōṭi Kastūri Rangappa and Moodna Chinia were stationed with twenty thousand infantry. On the approach of the Muhammadan army, they are said to have fled without firing a shot, and the fort fell easily into the hands of the invaders. They next marched against Udayagiri in the Nellore district and having put to flight its commandant Venkaṭarāju* who opposed them, took possession of the fort.

* Both Rangaswamy Sarasvati and Heras have identified this chief with Venkaṭapati, the younger brother and successor of Śrīranga. *Sources*, p. 240, n.; *Āravīḍu Dynasty*, p. 274. There is nothing to recommend this identification excepting the similarity of the

The fall of Koccerlakōṭa and Udayagiri was a prelude to the conquest of other small forts in their neighbourhood. Addanki, Ammanabrōlu, Kandukūru, Podili, Darśi, Kambham, Kākarla, Dūpāḍu, Tangeḍa, Gurijāla, Kētavaram, and Kārempūḍi fell one after another in quick succession. And the Muhammadan army was ready to proceed against Koṇḍavīdu which alone remained in the possession of the Hindus; but Kastūri Ranga made one more effort to stem the tide of Mussalman invasion; he and his friends Kandi Timmana and Moodna Chinia collected a force of thirty thousand men and attempted to block the path of the Muhammadans; but in the battle that ensued, they were utterly routed and were pursued to the fort of Goorum. The victory seems to have broken the back of Hindu resistance; and the Muhammadans could now proceed without fear of opposition to Koṇḍavīḍu, which was under the control of Gobbūṛi Timmarāja, a son-in-law of Rāmarāja the Great. Accordingly, the Muhammadans marched to Koṇḍavīḍu and laid siege to the fort; but Gobbūri Timmarāju and his lieutenant Velugōṭi Timma offered stubborn resistance. Ḥaider-ul-Mulk, the general commanding the Muhammadan army, had to apply to Gōlkoṇḍa for reinforcements. Although he was superseded by Sayyid Shāh Tucky, the change of commanders did not produce the desired result. Consequently Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh was obliged to have recourse to non-military methods for the reduction of the fort. At his instance, Roy Row Murahari Row entered into secret negotiations with Timmā Nāyuḍu and seduced him by offering him a large bribe. As a consequence of this, the vigour of the defence was relaxed, and the Muhammadans were able to breach the wall. Velugōṭi Timmana soon surrendered the fort to Roy Row on 29 April, A.D. 1580, and the district of Koṇḍavīḍu was lost to Vijayanagara for ever* (200-*c*). It is not known what efforts Śrīranga made to defend his dominions. He could not have done much in the circumstances in which he was situated. His failure

name. He was probably one of the numerous *kṣatriya* chiefs who held office under the government, for instance, Koṇḍrāju Venkaṭarāju.

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App. pp. 436-37.

to ward off the Muhammadan invasions may be attributed to two important facts. In the first place, the resources of the kingdom could not be fully utilised for its defence, owing to its division into three autonomous provinces. Tirumala, who was responsible for this division, did not make any provision for carrying on their administration as integral parts of a united empire. Each of his three sons to whom he had entrusted the government of a province was virtually independent in his own sphere; and although upon his death the eldest was recognised as the supreme sovereign, his authority was practically confined to his own province. Therefore, Śrīranga's brothers rendered him little or no assistance even in times of pressing danger; consequently he could not resist successfully the series of Muhammadan attacks that were made upon his dominions.

Secondly, Śrīranga's was a kingdom divided against itself. The *pāḷaigārs* and chiefs who gathered much power during the years of anarchy succeeding the battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi did not show any disposition to submit to his authority easily. The defection of the Haṇḍe chiefs has already been noticed. Moreover, the activities of Koṇḍrāju Venkaṭarāju and his brothers provoked a civil war in which a large number of nobles and *pāḷaigārs* were involved. Koṇḍrāju Venkaṭarāju assisted by his brothers Dāsarirāju, Koṇḍrāju and Timmarāju subdued, as noticed already, the Haṇḍe chiefs and occupied their estate; then they turned against the Sāri family and dealt with them in the same manner. Ōbana, the head of the Sāri family, who was deprived of his territory, sought refuge with Velugōṭi Rangappa (the Kastūri Rangia of the Muhammadan historians), the ruler of Ēṟuva in the north-west of the Nellore district and begged him to restore to him his estate. Rangappa promised his help, and marched at the head of 2,000 infantry accompanied by his brother-in-law, Dāmerla Venkaṭapati, and having passed through the estate of the Maṭli chiefs he halted at Kōḍūr in the Badvēl tālūka of the Cuddapah district. On obtaining information of the arrival of Rangappa, the

Koṇḍrāju brothers summoned to their assistance several chiefs well-disposed towards them and proceeded with their forces to Yerraguṇṭa (a railway station on M. S. M. Railway, N. W. Line) near Proddutūr, where they met the valiant Maṭli chief Timmarāja. They won him over to their side by pointing out that Rangappa had already slighted him, as he passed through his territory without permission. They collected in this manner an army of 97 elephants, 1,000 horses, 300 nobles, 100 *kṣatriya* warriors, 500 archers, and some matchlockmen and a large contingent of infantry. It was further strengthened by 7,000 *kaijītam* forces in the service of Maṭli Timma. With this army the Koṇḍrāju brothers and their allies set out from Yaṟṟaguṇṭa, passed through Siddhavaṭam, and finally arrived at Nēlaṭūr; where they pitched their tents. After a half-hearted attempt to settle their difference with Rangappa, they moved to Kōḍūr, where an engagement took place on Sunday, 27 September, A.D. 1579. The army of Koṇḍrāju brothers fell into four divisions: (i) the minor chiefs, (ii) the Maṭli forces, (iii) the retainers of the Koṇḍrāju family, and (iv) the miscellaneous crowd of warriors. To oppose this army Rangappa set out lance in hand; he directed his brother-in-law to keep the Koṇḍrāju brothers and others engaged, while he proceeded against Maṭli Timma, who had the most powerful force under his command. A fierce battle took place in which Maṭli Timma and several chiefs perished; many fell into the hands of the enemy, and a few fled. Rangappa won a complete victory over the Koṇḍrāju brothers, and fulfilled his promise to Sāri Ōbana by restoring to him his lands (201, 202-*a*, *b*).

This war weakened the kingdom. The nobles who were absorbed in their own affairs neither assisted the emperor to organize the defence of the country effectively nor co-operated with one another to expel the invader. No wonder, the Muhammadans succeeded in subjugating large tracts of Vijayanagara territory without much difficulty.

Śrīranga ruled until A.D. 1584-85 and died without issue.

CHAPTER XXIV.

VENKAṬA II.

Venkaṭapatidēva Mahārāya is said to have ascended the throne after the demise of his elder brother, Śrīranga I; * but it is not exactly known when this event took place. *The Kaifiyat of Ciṭṭivēli* places the death of Śrīranga I in Ś.S. 1510 Sarvadhāri i.e. A.D. 1588-89; but this is contradicted by the evidence of other records; the *Vijayanagara Sāmrājyamu* (19) indicates that Venkaṭa II's coronation was celebrated in the year Pārthiva (Ś.S. 1507 = A. D. 1585-86); and the *Vīrappaya Kālajñānam*, which explicitly states that the reign of Venkaṭapatirāya commenced on Māgha, śu. 11 of the year Pārthiva (21 Jan. A.D. 1586), agrees with it. The date suggested by these documents is in conformity with the evidence of the inscriptions. According to an epigraph of the Kōlār district dated on the day of Dhanus Sankramaṇa of the year Pārthiva (29, Nov. A.D. 1585) Śrīranga was still ruling the kingdom of the earth; † and another epigraph at Lower Ahōbaḷam in the Kurnool district dated śu. 1 of the month of Phālguna of the year Pārthiva, corresponding to Ś.S. 1507 (9, Feb. A.D. 1586) states that at that time Vīra Venkaṭapatidēva Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world from Penugoṇḍa.‡ The Anonymous Historian corroborates the evidence of the above inscription. Writing about the events that occurred in the kingdom of Vijayanagara prior to A.D. 1589, he declares that Venkaṭapati transferred the seat of his government to Penugoṇḍa, as soon as he became the king.§ It is evident from the inscriptions that Śrīranga I died very probably about the beginning of Māgha of the year Pārthiva and was succeeded by his brother, Venkaṭapati a few days later. Therefore, the date suggested by the *Vīrappaya Kālajñānam* for the commencement of Venkaṭapatidēvarāya's reign may be accepted as genuine. Venkaṭa's succession to the throne

* *E. I.*, xvi, p. 319.

† *E.C.* xi, Sd. 51.

‡ 71 of 1915.

§ Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App., p. 454.

cannot be said to be quite regular, for his elder brother Rāma, the Viceroy of Srīrangapaṭṭaṇam, had left two sons Tirumala and Śrīranga (Cikkarāya). As these princes were of tender years, the succession of either of them was not expected to promote the welfare of the state. The nobles seem to have felt the need for a strong monarch, who could restore order among the warring chiefs, and offer effective resistance to the Mussalmans. Headed by the famous Jagadēvarāya, the ruler of Cennapaṭṭaṇa, they chose Venkaṭa II as their emperor (205). This conclusion derives support from a passage in a contemporary Jesuit letter: "After the demise of this Prince's father, the kingdom was given by the unanimous vote of all the classes to the brother of the deceased, that is, the one ruling at present, rejecting the rights of the deceased's children, who, on account of their age, were not able to rule over a kingdom."* It is evident from this that Venkaṭa was chosen emperor, because people believed that he could arrest the progress of anarchy in the land.

During the course of his reign Venkaṭa amply justified the confidence which his subjects placed in him. He attacked the Muhammadans successfully and wrested from them most of the territory which they had taken from his predecessor; he crushed the nobles and *pāḷaigārs*, who attempted to carve out independent kingdoms. Having fully restored the imperial authority, he made a vigorous attempt to improve the economic condition of the kingdom by resuscitating agriculture and industries in the villages, which had been ruined during the recent Muhammadan invasions.

Venkaṭa's wars with the Muhammadans:—Venkaṭa II appears to have made an attempt to recover the territory conquered by the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa during the last years of the reign of Śrīranga I. The Anonymous Historian declares that Venkaṭapati, on his accession to the throne, not only transferred his capital to Penugoṇḍa contrary to certain treaty

* *Āraviḍu Dynasty*, p. 301.

obligations, but also 'made some incursions and invasions into the Gōlkoṇḍa dominions;'* but he does not fully describe the results of these incursions. There is reason to believe that the Gōlkoṇḍa armies suffered defeat, and Sulṭān Muḥammad Quly Quṭb Shāh, who ascended the throne on the death of his father, Ibrāhīm, in A.D. 1580, sustained loss of territory. It is said in the Amīnābād inscription of Amīn Mulk dated 4, April, A.D. 1592 that the fort of Udayagiri was captured by Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh in A.D. 1580;† this fort seems to have been reconquered by the Vijayanagara emperor some time before A.D. 1589; for, a certain Kowlanunda (Kowl Ananta ?) was governing the fort at that time on behalf of Venkaṭa II.‡ It is not unreasonable to conclude that Venkaṭa II made an attempt to recover the lost dominion soon after his accession, and achieved a fair measure of success in his endeavour. An attempt was also made about the same time to overthrow the Quṭb Shāhī authority in the province of Koṇḍavīḍu. A Quṭb Shāhī officer called 'Alī Khān Lūr, who had deserted his sovereign owing to his dissatisfaction with Roy Row, the Brahman governor of Koṇḍavīḍu, joined the emperor of Vijayanagara and led an expedition into the district of Koṇḍavīḍu, accompanied by the emperor's son-in-law Mēkūr Timma. He attacked the fort of Kambam, but was defeated and driven away by Roy Row; 'Alī Khān thereupon returned to the court of Vijayanagara; but receiving no encouragement he repaired once again to Koṇḍavīḍu and stirred up trouble by seizing the fort of Ardinga (Addanki ?).§ The defeat of his armies, the loss of the fort of Udayagiri with its dependent territory, and the frequent troubles fomented by the agents of the emperor of Vijayanagara in the province of Koṇḍavīḍu seem to have stirred Quly Quṭb Shāh to activity. He resolved to make a vigorous effort and complete the conquest of Vijayanagara kingdom. In order to achieve his purpose, he despatched his minister Amīr-ul-Mulk with a large army.

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App., p. 454.

† *Sources*, p. 240.

‡ Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App., p. 455.

§ *Ibid*, pp. 448–9.

Amīr-ul-Mulk appears to have crossed the Kṛṣṇā somewhere in the neighbourhood of Musalimaḍugu in the Nandikōṭkūr taluk of the Kurnool district; and having captured that fort after some resistance, he marched southwards to Gaṇḍikōṭa in the Jammalamaḍugu taluk of the Cuddapah district. The Gōlkoṇḍa army had to pass on its way through the estates of the Nandyāla chiefs, who were related to the royal family. A certain Basvant Rāj, who was a son-in-law of Aḷiya Rāmarāja, was governing Nandyāla, and his nephew, Narsing Rāj held sway over Kalagūr and its neighbourhood. They opposed the Muhammadans for some time and being unable to hold out against them made peace with them by agreeing to pay an annual tribute. The fall of Nandyāla and Kalagūr was followed by the submission of the other Vijayanagara nobles who held estates in the neighbourhood. The chiefs of Jammalamaḍugu, Jūṭūr, Sirivel̤la, Nunduatcota (Nandavaram Kōṭa ?), Dole (Dhōne ?) and Cennūru acknowledged the supremacy of the Quṭb Shāh, and agreed, like the rājas of Nandyāla and Kalagūr to pay tribute.* The forts of Kurnool and Gutti (Gooty) appear to have passed into the hands of the Mussalmans at the same time. Having subdued the whole of the Kurnool and portions of Cuddapah and Anantapur districts, Amīr-ul-Mulk proceeded to Gaṇḍikōṭa in the Cuddapah district, which was governed by Nandyāla Narasimharāja, a distant cousin of Venkaṭa II, and laid siege to it. Narasimha held out for a time and submitted, promising like the other nobles to pay tribute to the sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa. Sulṭān Qulī joined the army soon after the reduction of Gaṇḍikōṭa ; and, in order to punish Venkaṭa II for the supposed breach of some treaty obligations, he marched on Penugoṇḍa, the capital of the Vijayanagara empire at this time. Meeting with little or no opposition on the way, he reached the city within a short time and laid siege to it.

Venkaṭa appears to have been prevented by some unknown obstacle from concerting measures for the defence of the realm; he could not evidently make any efforts to

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* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App. p. 453.

repel the invaders. Probably the Muslim invasion was too sudden; and the nobles whom he had summoned to his assistance had not yet joined him. With the object of gaining time, he made a pretence of submission, and sent his minister Gōparāju Timma and his general Papiah Seṭṭi to the camp of the enemy to sue for peace. They approached Muḥammad Qulī Pādshāh and persuaded him to grant them a truce in order to enable them to settle the terms of a permanent peace. It appeared as if the empire of Vijayanagara had finally collapsed, and the Hindus were no longer capable of offering any organized resistance. Being obviously satisfied with the results of the campaign, the sulṭān retired from the vicinity of Penugoṇḍa with his army.

Venkaṭa II took full advantage of the brief respite that he had thus obtained. Within the space of three days, he had provisions conveyed into the citadel, sufficient to enable the garrison to stand a long siege; and on the fourth day a strong force consisting of thirty thousand infantry and four thousand musketeers under Jagadēva Row, Gulranga Seṭṭi, Manupa Rāj, Papiah Samywar, Raghunātha of Tanjore, Maṭli Ananta, Velugōṭi Kastūri Ranga, Velugōṭi Cenna and his son Venkaṭapati threw itself into the fort. Venkaṭa now cast off all pretensions of submission and defied the Mussalmans.

Sulṭān Qulī discovered his mistake too late; and when he made an attempt to renew the siege, he found that it was of no avail. The Anonymous Historian who gives a graphic account of this campaign states that the sulṭān becoming apprehensive of the approaching rainy season considered it advisable to raise the siege so that he might not be cut off from his territory by the inundation of the Kṛṣṇā river.* This is evidently an attempt to conceal the humiliation suffered by the sulṭān; for the contemporary Hindu records bear testimony to a victory won by the Hindus in a battle which they fought with the Mussalmans on this occasion. The Siddhout inscription of Maṭli Ananta

* Briggs: *Ferishta*, iii, App., p. 454.

dated A.D. 1605-06, for instance, clearly states that Ananta destroyed the pride of the Muhammadan king in the battle of Penugoṇḍa;* and this is corroborated by the evidence of *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, where it is asserted that the young Tanjore prince, Raghunātha, who went to Penugoṇḍa to assist Venkaṭapatidēvarāya, scattered the Muhammadan troops that opposed him.† Therefore, it is evident that Muḥammad Qulī Pādshāh was obliged to raise the siege of Penugoṇḍa, not on account of his apprehensions of the approaching rainy season, but owing to the defeat of his army at the hands of the Hindus. Much information is not available about the battle itself. Jagadēva Row appears to have made a sally from the fort and attacked the Quṭb Shāhī army. In the engagement that followed he defeated the troops of Mṛtyujā Khān and Nūri Khān, took Cittā Khān prisoner, and put Saujāta Khān to death and offered protection to Cērna Mulk‡ (205). As a consequence of this disaster sulṭān Qulī abandoned the siege and fled precipitately towards his frontier; but before crossing the Kṛṣṇā, he made hasty arrangements for holding the territory which he had recently subdued. He entrusted the defence of Gaṇḍikōṭa, Nandyāla, and Musalimaḍugu to Sanjar Khān, Jagat Row and Aśvā Row respectively; appointed Murtaẓā Khān as the military commander of the conquered country; and returned to his capital having lost much of his prestige in the war.§

The Vijayanagara army flushed with victory began to chase the Muhammadan garrisons occupying the important strongholds in the land. They captured Gutti and proceeded against Gaṇḍikōṭa. Meanwhile, Sulṭān Quli commanded Afzal Khān, the governor of Koṇḍavīḍu, to send reinforcements to the rescue of the garrison defending Gaṇḍikōṭa. Accordingly, troops set out from Koṇḍavīḍu without adequate protection on the way. As soon as Venkaṭa II obtained information of the despatch of troops from Koṇḍavīḍu, he sent a force to

* *Sources*, p. 250.
† *Ibid*, p. 285.
‡ *Ibid*, pp. 229, 230.
§ Briggs: *Ferishta*, iii, App. p. 455.

Kowalanunda, the governor of Udayagiri, with instructions to harass the Muslim army and lay waste the Gōlkoṇḍa territory. Kowalanunda deputed his son-in-law Woorias Rāy to raid the Koṇḍavīḍu territory, which he seems to have done effectively. Afzal Khān, unable to cope with the enemy, incited the *jāgīrdārs* of the district to collect their forces and devastate the Udayagiri territory. Although the Anonymous Historian credits the Muslim officers, Afzal Khān and Ajada Khān, with victory, the Hindu records seem to assert the contrary*. According to the *Kaifiyat of Ciṭṭivēli,* a vast host of Uriya and *Manne* nobles under the Rāviḷḷa chief, together with the Muhammadan forces, came from the side of Udayagiri with the object of surrounding the Badvēl-*sīma*, and halted at the village of Kamalakūru in the Siddhavaṭam taluk of the Cuddapah district. A section of this army, led by one of the members of the Rāviḷḷa family, seems to have marched south and reached the hill-fort of Guṟṟamkoṇḍa in the Vayalpāḍu taluk of the modern Chittoor district. Venkaṭa II commanded two of his nobles, Maṭli Ananta and Kastūri Rangappa, to put the invaders to flight. In obedience to the royal order, they marched to Kamalakūru, and routed the Gōlkoṇḍa army in a fierce battle; Kastūri Rangappa chased the broken forces of the Quṭb Shāhī nobles as far as Koccerlakōṭa; and Maṭli Ananta repaired to Guṟṟamkoṇḍa with his army and laid siege to it. The Rāviḷḷa chief, who appears to have been well provided with artillery and ammunition, offered stubborn resistance; but Ananta showed dogged perseverance in pushing forward the siege operations, notwithstanding the mines of gunpowder, the thundering artillery vomiting death-dealing fire, and the shower of stones descending from heaven like the rains in the *Citta.* He succeeded at last in demolishing one of the bastions and the garrison could not hold out long. The Rāviḷḷa chief realised the situation, and immediately sued for peace; and having probably surrendered the fort, departed to his native country (202-a, b, 216-b).

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App., p. 455.

The victories of Kamalakūru and Gurramkonda sealed the fate of the Muslim garrison at Gandikōta; the reinforcements which sultān Qulī despatched from Kondavīdu could not reach their destination, as they were intercepted and scattered on the way. The floods which suddenly swelled the rivers prevented any help coming from Gōlkonda; and the attempt to embarrass Venkata II by making inroads into his dominions ended in dismal failure. No doubt, Murtazā Khān was in the neighbourhood; but the forces under his command could not cope with the enemy.

A large Vijayanagara army consisting of a hundred thousand men under the command of Yara Timmarāja, Gulranga Setty, Manuparāju, Velugōti Cennapa, and Yāca marched to recover Gandikōta. To divert the attention of this army, Murtazā Khān made a sudden attack upon Cuddapah and demolished the local temple. On obtaining information of this incident, Venkata detached Yara Timmarāja and Manuparāju with ten thousand cavalry and sent them against Murtazā Khān. They encountered him probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cuddapah but are said to have been defeated and put to flight.* This victory, however, produced no effect, as it failed to reduce the pressure on the garrison at Gandikōta.

As soon as Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh heard of the desperate condition of his army, he placed under Rustam Khān five thousand horse, and having made him the supreme commander of his forces in the south, sent him to assist Murtazā Khān. As soon as Rustam Khān joined the army, he assumed the supreme command but showed no inclination to act according to Murtazā Khān's advice. He crossed the river Pennār, which lay in front of him and pitched his tents on the clayey black cotton soil wet with the recent rain. The Hindus, having observed the forward move of the Muhammadan commander, dressing up a bull in a fantastic fashion, drove it towards his

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App., p. 456.

camp. Rustam Khān, who was scared by it, is said to have precipitated an action by his headlong flight to the rear of his army.* Whatever be the truth about the bull story, a great battle was fought on the bank of the river Pennār, in which the Muhammadan army was completely defeated and cut to pieces. Velugōṭi Cennapa, who appears to have greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Pennār, marched at the head of the royal army accompanied by his cousin Yāca to Gaṇḍikōṭa, and captured the fort. The fall of Gaṇḍikōṭa was a prelude to the surrender of other minor forts in the neighbourhood. The Muhammadan garrisons were chased across the Kṛṣṇā; and sulṭān Qulī had to recognize that river as the boundary between his kingdom and the dominions of the emperor of Vijayanagara.

Venkaṭa II taught the Muhammadans the much needed lesson that they could not always afford to attack the possessions of the emperor of Vijayanagara with impunity. He not only repelled their attacks but wrested from them much of the Vijayanagara territory which they had conquered during the reign of his predecessor; he could not, however, complete this task, owing to the internal disorders in his kingdom. Therefore, he had to remain content, during the remaining years of his reign, with making indirect efforts to recapture the district of Koṇḍavīḍu, which still remained in the possession of the sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa.

Internal affairs:—The internal condition of the empire did not suddenly undergo a change for the better on the accession of Venkaṭa II. The nobles did not give up their rebellious habits and become less turbulent. As a matter of fact, Venkaṭa II had to contend against several chiefs who defied his authority and asserted their independence.

Tammana Gauḍ's rebellion:—The earliest rebellion which he had to face was headed by a certain Tammana Gauḍ,

* Briggs: *Ferishta* iii, App., pp. 457-8.

who seems to have held an estate somewhere on the frontiers of the Kanarese country. He appears to be identical with Mummaḍi Cikkarāya Tammaya Gauḍa of Sugaṭūr, who figures as a subordinate of Venkaṭa II in the inscriptions of the Kōlār district.* Taking advantage of the Gōlkoṇḍa invasion and the siege of Penugoṇḍa, he set up the standard of rebellion, and refused to pay the taxes that were due to the government. Therefore, as soon as Venkaṭa II defeated the Muhammadans near Penugoṇḍa and put them to flight, he seems to have proceeded against him at the head of an army, accompanied Maṭli Ananta, Velugōṭi Kastūri Rangappa, Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and others,† and laid siege to the fort of Kōlār; Tammaya Gauḍa seems to have advanced at the head of 26,000 *Manne* soldiers to raise the siege. Venkaṭa II appears to have left Maṭli Ananta to carry on the siege operations; and marched with the rest of the army to oppose him. Both the armies met at a place called Krotta-Kanama; a battle was fought in which Velugōṭi Kastūri Rangappa greatly distinguished himself. Tammaya Gauḍa's army was routed; and he was himself taken prisoner. Meanwhile, Maṭli Ananta captured Kōlār, and Tammaya Gauḍa paid the tribute due to the Rāya and made peace with him.

The rebellion of Nandēla Kṛṣṇamarāja and others: Venkaṭa II had to face a serious rebellion of the *kṣatriya* chiefs of the Rāyala-*sīma* in A.D. 1957-98. The cause of the rebellion is not known. Nandēla Kṛṣṇamarāja, who succeeded his father Narasimharāja in the management of the hereditary estates of his family, refused to pay tribute; and declared his

* *E.C.* x, Kl. 241.

† The Kōlāla expedition of Maṭli Ananta, and the campaign of Raghunātha Nāyaka against the Murasas or the people of Murasu-*nāḍu* seem to be identical with Venkaṭa II's attack upon Tammaya Gauḍa. It is said that Murasu-*nāḍu* embraces 'the northern part of the North Arcot and the adjacent parts of the neighbouring districts' (*Sources*, p. 285) The Kōlār and Mulbāgal taluks of the Kōlār district adjoin the northern part of North Arcot. The shrine of Kālabhairava at Sīti in the Kōlār district is the tutelary chief of large sections of cultivating classes such as Morasu Vokkaligars, Reḍḍis &c. (*Mysore Gazetteer* v, p. 369). It is obvious that Kōlār district where the Morasu tribe lives is the Morasu or Murasu-*nāḍu* under consideration.

independence in defiance of the royal authority. He was joined by Koṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju, the ruler of the *sīmas* of Pottapi and Siddhavaṭam, who confiscated the *amaram* villages enjoyed by the members of the Maṭli family, as they loyally supported the cause of the emperor; and Kandanavōlu Gōpālarāju, the chief of Kurnool and a grandson of the famous Venkaṭādri, appears to have made common cause with them.

Venkaṭa II marched with his army, accompanied by Maṭli Ellamarāja, father of Ananta, Haṇḍe Dēvappa Nāyaka and Pemmasāni Timma to subdue the rebels. On hearing of the approach of the emperor with his army, Koṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju strengthened the defences of his forts, especially Ūṭukūru adjoining the royal territory; and Nandēla Kṛṣṇama marched with his forces to oppose the Rāya. They met at Jambulamaḍugu, where an engagement took place. As Kṛṣṇamarāja's army was defeated, he was obliged to retreat from the battle-field and shut himself up in the fort of Nandēla. Venkaṭa followed him hard upon his heels and invested the fort closely for three months. Kṛṣṇamarāja found that he could not hold out long; and considering it advisable to sue for peace when it was not too late, he solicited Maṭli Ellama to intercede with the Rāya and help him to settle their quarrel. Ellama readily undertook the task; but he could only persuade the Rāya to spare Kṛṣṇama's life. The fort was surrendered, and the estates of Kṛṣṇama, which were confiscated, were given to Haṇḍe Dēvappa Nāyaka and Pemmasāni Timmā Nāyaka (211, 212, 213). Gaṇḍikōṭa, which had been a stronghold of the Nandēla chiefs, became the capital of Pemmasāni Timma and his descendants. Kṛṣṇamarāja was taken to Candragiri, where he remained in captivity until his death (216-b). Although no information is available about the steps which Venkaṭa took against Gopālarāju of Kandanavōlu, the *Kaifiyat of Ciṭṭivēli* seems to indicate that he shared the captivity with his ally for some time at least.

Having successfully put down the rebellion of Nandēla Kṛṣṇamarāju and Kandanavōlu Gōpalarāju, Venkaṭa next

turned his attention towards Koṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju. He placed the command of the royal army under Maṭli Ellama and commissioned him to march against Tirupatirāju and overthrow his authority. Probably to induce Ellama to strive his utmost in laying the rebel by the heels, Venkaṭa gave him a promise that he would bestow the rebel's estate upon him as *amaram.* Therefore, Ellama proceeded with determination against Tirupatirāju, who was on a visit to the fort of Ūṭukūru at that time, and attempted to enter the fort; but he was opposed by Tirupatirāju and his forces. A battle ensued in which Tirupatirāju lost his life: his followers took to flight by three different routes of Pōli, Koṇḍūr and Pottapi. They were, however, overtaken by Ellama's men and were cut to pieces. Venkaṭa II was greatly pleased with Ellama's victory and in accordance with his promise bestowed upon him the *amaram* of Pulugula-*nāḍu* together with Siddhavaṭam-*sīma.* Moreover, he entrusted to him the administration of the districts of Cennūr, Duvvūr, Kāmalāpuram, Pōrumāmiḻḻa and Badvēli (214, 215-a, b).

Rebellions in the Tamil country:—The peace of the Tamil country was disturbed in the opening years of the 17th century by the outbreak of rebellions of the nāyaks, who seem to have resented Venkaṭa's interference with the affairs of what they came to regard as their hereditary dominions. Lingama, the chief of Vellore, seems to have shown a tendency to regard himself as the master of his *amaram;* and Venkaṭa bestowed the Perumbēḍu-*sīma* (Chingleput and Madurāntakam taluks) belonging to him on Yācama Nāyaḍu, son of Velugōṭi Kastūri Rangappa, as his *amaram* with the intention of breaking the power of Lingama and asserting the authority of the imperial government. Yāca took possession of his new estate and having made Madurāntakam his headquarters, marched suddenly on the fort of Uttaramallūr, belonging to Nāga, a subordinate of Lingama, and seized it. Nāga naturally sought the help of his overlord, who readily agreed to take up his cause and restore to him his fort.

But, as he knew that it was not easy to dislodge Yāca without a powerful army, he not only summoned to his assistance all the chiefs owing allegiance to him but solicited help from the nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee. In response to his call, the chiefs holding the forts Tiṇḍīvanam, Tiruvaḍi, Valadāpuram, Vandavāsi, Pengōṭūr, Tiruvattūr, Asamandūr, Kattalai, and Arcot joined him with their forces; and the nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore, and Gingee sent some of their subordinates with contingents of horses and elephants. The hereditary retainers of Lingama's family from Paḍaivīḍu, as well as the *pāḷaigārs* who were dependent upon him, had also joined him. Acting on the advice of Nāga, he made Nāga's brother-in-law, Dāvula Pāpā Nāyaḍu, the generalissimo of the army and despatched them to Uttaramallūr. Pāpa marched at the head of an army comprising 100 elephants, 500 pairs of horses, 1,000 nobles riding in palanquins, 10,000 archers, 12,000 matchlockmen,* 30,000 infantry. The army was also provided with 7,000 rockets;* Pāpa having reached Uttaramallūr on Sunday, 31 May A.D. 1601 pitched his camp on the eastern side of the fort.

Yāca saw the huge army that had come to attack him; but he was not perturbed. With characteristic courage, he prepared himself for the battle and issued forth from the fort on horse-back accompanied by Singa, his younger brother, riding on an elephant. They were followed by their friends, relations and dependents with 2,000 or 3,000 picked Velama soldiers. In the fierce engagement that followed a large number of chiefs including Dāvula Pāpa was slain; several took to flight, and a few like Dāmerla Cenna, who could not flee on account of wounds, were taken prisoners. Yāca won a brilliant victory which brought him great renown. Having accomplished his task successfully, he returned to the court, and was honoured by the Rāya who bestowed on him dresses, jewels, vehicles and land (218, 219-a, b). Yāca's victory at Uttaramallūr

* A slightly different estimate of the strength of the army under Dāvula Pāpa is given in another account of this battle.

appears to have been followed by the outbreak of a rebellion of the nāyaks of the Tamil country.*

The sequence of the events of this rebellion is not known; but it is not impossible to conjecture the probable order in which they might have occurred. Lingama of Vellore seems to have collected an army and taken the field with the object of retrieving the disaster at Uttaramallūr. At the same time, several nāyaks of the Tamil country, who were probably alarmed at Venkaṭa's attempts to curb their power, set up the standard of rebellion and defied the authority of the imperial government. Venkaṭa, however, rose equal to the occasion. He gathered forces, and placing them under the command of Maṭli Ananta despatched them against the rebels. He was accompanied by his son Tiruvengaḷanātha, Muluvāgalu II Cikkarāju, Dāmerla Cenna and other chiefs. The army set out probably from Candragiri and moved towards the territory of Lingama Nāyaka of Vellore. They marched without any serious opposition, until they reached the maidan of Minnul (Minnal ?), where they encountered Lingama with his army. An engagement took place between the two armies in which, owing mainly to the efforts of Dāmerla Cenna, Lingama was put to flight. The royal army next advanced into the Cōḷa country, where they came into conflict with the rebel forces probably under the nāyak of Tanjore at a place called Gūḍaḷāttūr. In the battle that ensued the rebels were defeated again; and Dāmerla Cenna seems to have been greatly responsible for the victory. Having suppressed the rebellion in the Cōḷa country, Maṭli Ananta crossed the Kāvērī and laid waste the lands of the nāyak of Madura and his allies. The nāyak, while attempting to ward off the invasion suffered a defeat; and the fish standard of the Pāṇḍyas, which he

* Contemporary Telugu literature alludes to a war which Venkaṭa II waged on the nāyak of Madura about this time. It is but natural that the nāyak of Madura, who sent aid to Lingama in his war against Yāca in A.D. 1601, should have attempted to help him further in his revolt against the Rāya. The Siddhavaṭam inscription of Maṭli Ananta dated A.D. 1605-6, idicates that the rebellion was not confined to Madura, but spread to other parts of the Drāviḍa country. (*Sources*, p. 250)

appropriated for himself was seized and carried away as a trophy by the royalists. Maṭli Tiruvengaḷanātha and Muluvāgalu II had greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion (221, 222).

The series of victories gained by the royal army broke the back of the rebellion; and most of the rebels were forced to submit; Lingama, however, was not inclined to accept defeat easily. Trusting himself to the strong fortifications of Vellore, he shut himself in the fort and made preparations for standing a siege. Though Lingama offered stout resistance, he fell into the hands of the besiegers on account of a stratagem and his capture was followed after some time by the surrender of the fort. Venkaṭa II appears to have deprived Lingama of his estate, and shifted the headquarters of his government to Vellore (220).

The civil administration of the empire:—Although Venkaṭa II was engaged in warfare more or less throughout his reign, he found time to attend to the internal administration of his dominions. The northern districts of his empire were completely devastated by the Muhammadans, who frequently overran the country since the fateful battle of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi. The people deserted the villages and migrated to places where they could live in peace; and the agriculture was consequently ruined. Having expelled the Muhammadans from his dominions, Venkaṭa II made a sustained effort to repopulate the villages and restore their prosperity. At his instance, Nāgappa, the seal-bearer of the small treasury, directed his *aḍapam*, Timmana, to visit the villages of the Rāyala-*sīma* and concert measures for the rehabilitation of agriculture. Timmana summoned the ryots and granted them charters on easy conditions for the cultivation of the deserted fields. The example of the Rāya was followed by some of his nobles. Pemmasāni Timma and Maṭli Ananta, who held estates in the affected area, displayed considerable interest in increasing the economic prosperity of their respective territories. The results

of this policy are not known (228-a-f). Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to believe that in the absence of the Mussalman invasions, the economic policy inaugurated by the state must have revived the village life and restored the prosperity of agricultural communities.

Venkaṭa II's reign lasted for nearly three decades. During this period he laboured incessantly not only to maintain the integrity of the empire but to revive some of its former glory, a task which was by no means easy of performance. At the time of his accession, it was on the brink of dissolution, owing to two grave dangers, which threatened its existence: it was undermined by the action of the treacherous nobles within and assailed by the frequent Mussalman attacks without. Venkaṭa put down the recalcitrant nobles with a stern hand and chastised the Mussalmans so severely that they dared not set their foot on the soil of Vijayanagara empire so long as he sat upon the throne. He brought prosperity to the ruined villages and peace to the harassed farmers. He succeeded in restoring to the royal power much of its old vigour and independence. During the period of his reign the glory of the old empire which seemed to have faded on the battle-field of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi shone again brilliantly. But his death in A.D. 1614 deprived the empire of its protector and guide. Venkaṭa II had no sons. His nephew Śrīranga II Cikkarāya whom he nominated as his successor was weak and incompetent. The empire consequently fell on rocks, and suffered ship-wreck within a short time.

CHAPTER XXV.

ŚRĪRANGA II.

Venkaṭa II had no sons. One of his queens, Bāyamma, a granddaughter of Aḷiya Rāmarāja through her mother, and a daughter of Gobbūri Ōbarāju*, who 'eagerly longed for a son,' pretended that she was pregnant, and having smuggled in due time a Brahman infant into the palace proclaimed that she gave birth to a son. Although Venkaṭa II knew the fraud, he did not make any outward manifestation of disbelief. On the contrary, he disguised his feelings and treated the boy as a son on account of the great love he bore to Bāyamma; but at the time of his death, while making arrangements for the governanace of the realm, he ignored his putative son and nominated his nephew, Śrīranga II Cikkarāya, * as his successor. On the death of Venkaṭa II in August A.D. 1614, he was accordingly succeeded by Śrīranga II. The accession of Śrīranga II was not agreeable to all the subjects of the empire, specially to Bāyamma and her relations. They secretly vowed that they would not offer allegiance to Śrīranga but overthrow his authority and set up on the throne the putative son of the late monarch. Jaggarāju, a brother of

* The name of queen Bāyamma is not met with in the indigenous records of the time. Some scholars have expressed the opinion that she is mentioned under another name. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar identifies her with Venkaṭamma, because *Rāmarājīyam* does not give her parentage. He betrays a want of acquaintance with the social life of the Telugu people and their literature, when he makes the amazing observation that 'any lady could be called Bāyamma in Telugu'. (*Sources*, p. 20). Heras nods assent to Dr. Ayyangar's interpretation. The *Rāmarājīyam*, no doubt, does not mention the parentage of queen Venkaṭamma ; that is not a good reason for identifying her with Bāyamma. As a matter of fact, it gives the parentage of Bāyamma's sister Koṇḍamma who also married Venkaṭa II. Why the author of *Rāmarājīyam* should mention only Koṇḍamma and omit her sister's name altogether is not quite intelligible. The real reason for his omission of the names of Venkaṭamma's parents appears to be that they were not of high status like the parents of the other queens. Bāyamma is a corruption of Bhairavamma, and is rarely met with in the Telugu inscriptions and literature. According to the contemporary Portuguese authorities, quoted by Heras, Venkaṭa II married two daughters of Ōbarāja ; one of them was Koṇḍamma, and the other was evidently known as Bāyamma.

queen Bāyamma, and his lieutenants Timmā Nāyaka and Mākarāju placed themselves at the head of the opposition and waited for an opportunity to strike.

The imprudent policy which Śrīranga II followed in the administration of the empire estranged the feelings of his subjects, and strengthened the hands of his enemies. In the first place, he 'accommodated in his kingdom many Belalas' with whom he became acquainted during his sojourn in Tanjore; and 'gave them honourable offices in the government.' This displeased his subjects considerably.* Secondly, he drove some of the highest officers of state into opposition by making injudicious demands for the surrender of lands, money, and jewels.† Therefore, Jaggarāya and his partisans gathered strength and overthrew the authority of Śrīranga II by means of a stratagem.

Coup d'etat of Jaggarāya:—Jaggarāya and his two lieutenants Timmā Nāyaka and Mākarāja informed Śrīranga that they wished to pay him homage; and on obtaining royal permission, they entered the fort with a select body of troops; and having surrounded the palace, forced Śrīranga to surrender and led him away as prisoner. Jaggarāya then crowned his nephew emperor and persuaded all the nobles that were present to do him homage.‡

Śrīranga, who was thus taken by surprise and deposed, was deserted by all his nobles save Yācama Nāyaka, son of Velugōṭi Kastūri Ranga. Yācama was a brave warrior, who had distinguished himself in the wars under Venkaṭa II and was the recipient of many favours at the hands of that monarch in recognition of his meritorious services in the field. When Śrīranga was seized by Jaggarāya and his adherents and imprisoned, Yācama, impelled by feelings of gratitude to his late master, stoutly upheld his cause, thereby incurring

* Queyros: *The Conquest of Ceylon*, Bk. ii, p. 384.

† *Forgotten Empire*, (Barradas) p. 223.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 226.

the displeasure of Jaggarāya and his partisans. The quarrel, which had arisen between Yācama and Jagga in this manner, soon developed into a huge civil war and plunged the empire into confusion and disorder.

During the early stages of the civil war, Yācama stood almost alone, as all the nobles having deserted their lawful master went over to the side of the usurper. Nevertheless, he did not lose courage and confidence in his capacity to overthrow the usurper and rescue the emperor from the prison into which he was thrown by the caprice of an evil fate. He boldly hurled defiance at Jagga and his nephew whose cause he espoused and devoted his attention to collect forces and devise schemes to rescue the emperor and his family. Although he successfully arranged the flight of prince Rāmadēva, one of of the emperor's sons from prison, he was not destined to set either the emperor or other members of the royal family at liberty. His efforts in this direction ended disastrously, as they brought about the destruction of the imperial family.

Yācama received with great cordiality prince Rāmadēva, when he arrived at his camp and began to concert measures to liberate the Rāya. At his instance, twenty soldiers entered the service of the *daḷavāy* guarding the fort and dug secretly an underground passage leading to the prison, where the emperor was detained so that he might steal away from the fort unobserved. While the emperor was descending into the passage, he was accidently discovered by the guard, and was immediately transferred to another prison where he was kept under more vigilant custody. The *daḷavāy* who was probably suspected to have abetted the excavation of the tunnel was deprived of his office; Jagga himself became the jailor of the emperor. The failure of his scheme did not, however, fill Yācama's mind with despair. He got into touch with Īṭe Ōbaḷēśa, a captain of five hundred men employed in the fort of Vellore, and purchased his support by agreeing to pay him a heavy bribe. Ōbaḷēśa agreed to slay the guard, protecting the prison and assist in the flight of the Rāya and

his family at a suitable moment. Taking advantage of the absence of Jaggarāya and his men from the fort, Ōbaḷēśa slew the guards and having seized the three gates, sent an urgent message to Yācama to come at once and take possession of it. But news of the happenings at Vellore reached Jaggarāya's camp quicker and he, having hastened to the place, enterd the fort by an unguarded postern gate, and surrounded Ōbaḷēśa with all his men* (231). Infuriated by the successive attempts made by Yācama to carry away Śrīranga from prison, Jaggarāya resolved to rid himself of the bother once for all. One night, he went to the prison, with his brother Cinna Ōbarāya and a few loyal friends, ostensibly for offering his respects to the emperor, and having surrounded the prison with their retainers, massacred the emperor, his wives and children without compunction.†

The stormy reign of Śrīranga II was thus brought to an abrupt end four months after its commencement. Śrīranga was probably a good king; but he had neither capacity nor prudence to govern an empire seething with sedition and rebellion. He mismanaged the affairs of state and perished as a consequence of his mismanagement.

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* *Forgotten Empire* (Barradas), pp. 227–28.

† *Sources*, p. 282; *Forgotten Empire* (Barradas), p. 228.

CHAPTER XXVI.

RĀMADĒVA.

If Jaggarāya expected to remove the obstacles completely from the path of his nephew, by the perpetration of such a foul act, he was very much mistaken; for the inhuman manner in which he massacred the Rāya and his family sent a thrill of horror and pity in the minds of the people throughout the empire. They began to hate Jaggarāya and his nephew and to entertain feelings of sympathy to Rāmadēva, the sole survivor of the royal family. Several nobles like Maṭli Tiruvengaḷanātha, who gave valuable assistance to the members of the Gobbūri family to resist Yācama's attacks upon their estates (235), being disgusted with Jaggarāya's loathsome conduct, deserted him and went over to the side of Rāmadēva, whom Yācama had already proclaimed emperor. Yācama now felt confident that he was strong enough to prevail against Jaggarāya. Therefore, he placed himself at the head of his army consisting of twenty thousand men and took the field. He was accompanied by his brothers Singapa, Rāyapa and Ayyapa besides Dāmerla Cenna and other nobles that had joined him, after the assassination of Śrīranga II. Jaggarāya could no longer avoid a battle with Yācama. He assembled his troops and marched to the battle supported by his lieutenants Mākarāja and Rāviḷḷa Venka. Both the armies met at an unknown place, and in the engagement that took place, Jaggarāja, notwithstanding his superiority in numbers, sustained a crushing defeat and took refuge in the jungles. The victory which Yācama gained over the enemy produced a profound impression on the minds of the people. It is said that, as a consequence of Yācama's victory, Karmili and Satyavīḍu, two strongholds of the Gobbūri family, were alarmed; the fort of Ceñji fell to pieces; confusion prevailed in the country as far as Madura; and the frontier forts trembled in panic (231).

The victory brought fresh recruits to the army of Yācama. Being greatly encouraged by this fresh access of strength, he resolved to deprive the Gobbūri chiefs of their estates. While Śrīranga II was still in prison, he made an attempt to reduce the territories held by them in the south-west of the Nellore district. At his instance, an army marched against Podalakūru and Kullūr belonging to Gobbūri Rāmarāja and captured them. They next proceeded to the fort of Vōgūr, where Rāmarāja had taken refuge, but were compelled to retreat on account of the intervention of Maṭli Tiruvengaḷanātha (235). Yācama found it convenient to complete the conquest of the estates of the Gobbūri family, after his victory over Jaggarāya and he seems to have captured Karmili and Pāḷemkōṭa, which became the headquarters of his successors.

Jaggarāya did not take his defeat lying down. He got into touch with the Nāyaks of Madura and Cenji, who were probably in league with him from the beginning, and secured their support. Notwithstanding his defeat and the loss of prestige, he appears to have become more formidable; for, Yācama could not think of facing him without the support of a powerful ally. Yācama was, however, as resourceful as he was brave. He knew that the Nāyak of Tanjore, who was jealous of the power of the rulers of Cenji and Madura, would readily throw in his weight on his side, if he was requested to do so. Therefore, he visited the Tanjore court personally and begged Raghunātha to assist him in placing Prince Rāmadēva on the throne of his ancestors. Agreeably to the wishes of Yācama, Raghunātha readily promised to lend his support.

Yācama, having successfully accomplished his mission at Tanjore, returned to Vellore. And gathering all the forces he could command, he started towards the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, where Jagga lay encamped with his allies. Yācama was accompanied by Rāmadēvarāya and a host of chiefs, the most important of whom were his brothers Singa, Rāyapa, and Ayyapa, Dāmerla Kaṟi Cenna, Ceṟaku Vengaḷa,

Kētireḍḍi Raghunātha, Pāvāḍā Kṛṣṇa and others (232). On the way he was joined by Ragnunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore; and both the armies proceeded towards Trichinopoly. When they arrived at Paḷamārnēri, they learnt that Jaggarāya with his army was encamped in the neighbouring village of Tōpūr. Therefore, they halted at Paḷamārnēri, and having rested, arrayed themselves in battle order next morning and marched eagerly desirous of attacking the enemy.

When Yācama and Raghunātha arrived at Tōpūr, they found Jaggarāya eagerly waiting for them to give them warm reception. He was strongly supported by Kṛṣṇapa of Cenji, Vīrapa of Madura, Mākarāja, Rāviḷḷa Venka, and the Śākamūru chiefs, besides a number of other nobles who acquired renown as warriors of great prowess. The battle seems to have commenced with an artillery duel. This was followed by a charge of the Tanjore cavarly on the Madura forces. The infantry probably led by Yācama attacked them before they could recover from the shock. The forces of the Nāyak of Madura fled in panic. Jaggarāya moved forward to the rescue of his ally, but he was not able to turn the tide of the battle. On perceiving Jaggarāya, Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore commanded his troops to attack him. A fierce action ensued in which Jaggarāya and many of his friends perished. The death of Jaggarāya was the signal for the flight of his allies. A vague panic seems to have taken possession of their minds; and without contemplating further resistance, they abandoned their camp and baggage and sought safety in flight. The *Velugōṭivārivaṁśāvaḷi* gives a graphic account of the confusion in the camp of Jaggarāya's allies. The Nāyak of Cenji trembling with fear approached Vīrapa of Madura and exclaimed, "O, Vīrapa, Jaggarāya is killed; Mākarāja has already dashed away on his horse; Rāvela Venka has begun to flee and the *Daḷavāy* has given up the idea of mounting his elephant, and hidden himself outside the camp. If we tarry here longer, we shall surely lose our lives outside the camp. Make haste, we must reach Trichinopoly."

Vīrapa was not unaware of the danger. As a matter of fact, he saw Yācama's dreaded infantry approaching his camp. Therefore, he stole away from the camp, and took refuge in the fort of Trichinopoly. Kṛṣṇapa of Ceñji concealed his dear life within his fort and did not venture to come outside. The example of the great leaders was followed by their humbler followers. Cina Rautu, Tippa Rautu, Tittepa Seṭṭi, Ghaṭṭi Mudali and other nobles fled one after another in alarm from the field. When all the trusted chiefs had either perished or taken to flight, the defeated one (the putative son ?) being deserted by all was taken prisoner (231).

The battle of Tōpūr was, no doubt, a turning point in the history of the civil war; the death of Jaggarāya deprived his partisans of the only capable leader they had. The imprisonment of his nephew must have disorganized them considerably. They were, however, obliged to keep together, on account of the menace of the Velamas, who threatened their very existence; for Yācama and his relations, after celebrating the victory over Jaggarāya, proceeded to seize the estates of his family and friends. It is said that he defeated Mākarāja, slew Jagga of Cengāḍu, and captured all the forts belonging to the Gobbūri family with their dependent territories (232). He attacked Kṛṣṇapa of Ceñji and took four forts from him so that he was left with little more than the fortress of Ceñji.* When Kṛṣṇapa attempted to recover his forts, he was defeated in battle and taken prisoner (232). At last, Yācama came into conflict with Jaggarāya's brother, Etirāja, near Pāḷemkōṭa and put him to flight.†

Notwithstanding the numerous victories which Yācama gained over the enemies of Rāmadēvarāya, the civil war did

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* i, pp. 213–14.

† The *Velugōṭivārivaṁśāvaḷi* declares, "(Etirāja) departed leaving his brothers and relations", which may be taken to mean that he died; but as the contemporary Dutch records make it clear that he was alive at least until A.D. 1629, the passage has to be interpreted literally so as to mean that he fled from the battle abandoning his brothers and relations.

not come to an end. Etirāja and his allies, though vanquished repeatedly still exercised considerable power. And the civil war dragged on until A.D. 1622, as the Nāyaks of Tanjore, Madura and Ceñji still disagreed among themselves in the choice of their overlord. Madura and Ceñji persisted in upholding the claim of the putative son, whereas the Nāyak of Tanjore supported Rāmadēva. The death of the putative son in A.D. 1619, and the reconciliation of Rāmadēva with Etirāja, whose daughter he married, removed all obstacles to peace, though the Southern Nāyaks, who were interested in feeding the embers of civil war, still found it difficult to come to an agreement; and began to rule their respective territories independently.* Rāmadēva was, however, recognized as the emperor of Karṇāṭaka; Etirāja now allied to him, espoused his cause warmly, and made strenuous efforts to strengthen his power. The task was not, however, easy. The Nāyaks of Madura and Ceñji who were allied to him in the past refused to recognize his son-in-law, Rāmadēva, as their overlord. The nobles who held estates in the districts in the neighbourhood of the capital showed little disposition to obey the central government; they waged war upon one another in defiance of its authority and did pretty much as they liked. Nevertheless Etirāja did not lose courage. Taking with him the young emperor, Rāmadēva, he set out at the head of his army; and was joined by Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tajore.†

The events of the campaign are not fully recorded. But the casual references in the day book of the Dutch factory at Pulicat enable us to reconstruct it in outline. The ruler of Madura who took the offensive made an attack on Tanjore, and plundered and burnt in February, A.D. 1625 Pēṭa, the chief place in Tanjore for the transit trade with Malabar;‡ but he seems to have been soon chased out of the Tanjore territory; for, a few months later (May, A.D. 1625) Etirāja and Rāmadēva lay before Trichinopoly evidently besieging the fort. They were,

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* i, pp. 452, 453, 459.

† *Ibid*, p. 467.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 469.

however, obliged to abandon the enterprise and hasten homewards, owing to the outbreak of a rebellion in the neighbourhood of the capital.

The reconciliation of Rāmadēvarāya with Etirāja and the members of the Gobbūri family led to the estrangement of Yācama, who had loyally stood by him during the worst days of the civil war. The cause of the estrangement was not so much due to any change in Rāmadēva's attitude to Yācama as to the latter's desire to appropriate the estates belonging to the Gobbūri chiefs, especially the port of Pulicat which belonged to Etirāja himself. Yācama's desire to seize this port was so well known at the time that interested parties, who were anxious to cause trouble to the Dutch factor, Isjabrants, sent messages to Etirāja informing him, falsely of course, that the factor was contemplating the surrender of the place to Yācama.* The latter, however, awaited a favourable opportunity to attack the place; and when Etirāja and Rāmadēva were away with their forces besieging Trichinopoly, considering that the time was suitable for the successful prosecution of the enterprise, instigated his kinsfolk, who held the coastal region, to rebel. His brother Singama, who was holding Chingleput, having joined two other chiefs marched at the head of 10,000 troops to San Thomé, with the object of attacking Pulicat ultimately, after effecting a junction with the army of his ally and cousin, Timmā Nāyaka,† who held sway over Armugam and the territories beyond. The plans of Singama, however, miscarried. Owing to the intervention of a certain Tiruvengaḷanātharāja whose lands lay between Pulicat and Timmā Nāyaka, the failure of the Portuguese to render any assistance, and the approach of the forces of Etirāja and Rāmadēva, he abandoned the enterprise and retired to his headquarters.

Nothing is known about the events that happened during the next few months. The state of affairs probably remained

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* i, p. 465.

† *Ibid*, p. 473.

unchanged. Rāmadēva and Etirāja lay about Tiruvīru with their army in the middle of A.D. 1626, and they were harassed by the Nāyaks of Cenji and Madura, who invaded the region around Puduccēri belonging to Velugōṭi Kastūri Ranga, son of Yācama Nāyaka. As he was not well-disposed towards his sovereign, he could not have received much help from that quarter. Although he claims victories over Vīrapa of Madura, and Kṛṣṇapa and Mādhava of Cenji (233), he suffered much loss of territory during the invasion.* To complicate the situation further, Dāmerla Venkaṭapati, the chief of Kāḷahasti, who had gradually made himself master of the north-east of the territory of Vijayanagara, rose up in rebellion in Feb. A.D. 1628.† But Etirāja and Rāmadēva did not despair of success. They persisted in their attempts to subdue the rebels and succeeded ultimately in reducing them to subjection. Rāmadēva had finally, with the help of the faithful Etirāja, gained great advantages over them in July A.D. 1629, and began to bring the kingdom under his control. The Nāyak of Cenji gave up hostilities and went over to his side. Kastūri Ranga and his uncle Singama were defeated and forced to surrender the forts of Chingleput and Karungoḷipāḷem to the Rāya. The rebellious chiefs in the neighbourhood of Pulicat were put down by the son of Etirāja who captured Tiruvattūr, Nandiambāka, Kalūr and other places; and Dāmerla Venkaṭapati, unable to face the royal army which was now nearly 1,00,000 strong, submitted without resistance.‡ Rāmadēva had at last become the master of his ancestral territories, after a bitter struggle of a decade and a half with his rebellious subjects.

The Muhammadan Conquest of Kurnool:—The disastrous civil war, which convulsed the Vijayanagara empire for nearly fifteen years after the death Venkaṭa II, did not fail to attract the attention of the rulers of the Deccan. The Sulṭān of

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*Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* i, p. 480. † *Ibid*, p. 487.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 487; Foster: *English Factories In India* (1624 to 1629), pp. 346-7.

Bijāpūr, who attempted in vain since the days of Rākṣasi-Tangaḍi, to establish himself in the Western Telugu country, found that the time was favourable for realising his ambition. He despatched an expedition under one of his officers, 'Abdul Waḥāb Khān, against Kurnool in A.D. 1619–20. Gōpālarāja, the chief of the place offered stout resistance. The Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa, who was friendly to Gōpālarāja, probably rendered him some assistance, as Rāvilla Ayyapa II, who must have been one of his subordinates, is said to have received a jewelled crown as a reward for some services from Rāmadēva of Karnāṭaka (252). Peace was concluded between Gōpālarāja and the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr in December AD., 1621.*

The respite which Gōpālarāja had obtained was, however, short-lived. The Sulṭān of Bijāpūr did not give up his designs upon Kurnool. Once again in A. D. 1624, he sent against the fort Waḥāb Khān, who marched with his forces and laid siege to it. Gōpālarāja was reduced to great straits, and he appealed to the neighbouring chiefs for assistance. In response to his request, the Haṇḍe and Pemmasāni chiefs sent their troops; and Maṭli Tiruvengaḷanātha, who promised Gōpālarāja's succour formerly at Candragiri, joined them with his forces. They engaged Waḥāb Khān in a battle under the walls of Kurnool; but being defeated by him, the forces of the Haṇḍe and

* *Ibid*, p. 456 Ibrāhīm Zabīri, however, states that the fort of Karnool was conquered by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's officers stationed at Ādōni in A. H. 1031 (A.D. 1621-22).

در سنهٔ هزار و سی و یک ابراهیم عادل شاه که بتنبیه سرکشان

و متمردان بر نواح ادونی متعین شده بود قلعهٔ کرنول فتح نمود.

"ابراهیم بت شکن" تاریخ این فتح یافته اند.

Busāt-us-Salātīn, p. 273.

This is not probable as the contemporary Dutch records explicitly state that a treaty was concluded in December A.D. 1621.

Pemmasāni chiefs fled; and Tiruvengaḷanātha, who refused to accept defeat and seek refuge in flight, was slain (237-238-a). Gōpālarāja realised that it was futile to continue the fight longer. Having resolved to save himself while there was yet time, he abandoned the fort, and sought refuge in an unknown place. The fort with its dependent territory passed into the hands of the Mussalmans permanently.

Rāmadēva who was absorbed in his own affairs could not send any help to Gōpālarāja at the time. It is not unlikely that he might have thought of recovering Kurnool, after the subjugation of the rebellious nobles in A.D. 1629. But his death on 24, May, A.D. 1630, at the early age of twenty, set seal to the Mussalman conquest.*

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* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Campagnie* i, p. 491.

CHAPTER XXVII.

VENKAṬA III.

The death of Rāmadēva plunged the kingdom of Karṇāṭa once again into anarchy and civil war. As Rāmadēva had no sons or brothers to succeed him, he nominated one of his cousins, Peda Venkaṭa, a grandson of Aḷiya Rāmarāja, as his successor; but the selection of Peda Venkaṭa was not agreeable to Timmarāja, who considered that he had a better claim to the throne, as he was the paternal uncle of the late monarch. On the death of Rāmadēva, he seized the government, and forced Peda Venkaṭa to remain at Ānegondi, his native place. Timmarāja, however, failed to excite any sympathy in the minds of his subjects; he was generally regarded as a usurper; and the great feudatory Nāyaks of Ceñji, Tanjore and Madura showed open hostility and espoused the cause of Peda Venkaṭa.* The rivalry between Peda Venkaṭa or Venkaṭa III and Timmarāja engendered much confusion in the country and the horrors of civil war revived once again.† The *Vīrappaya Kālajñāna* which seems to have been written about this time alludes to a period of anarchy lasting for one year subsequent to Rāmadēvarāya's death (16). As a matter of fact, anarchical conditions prevailed in the country much longer.

The war of succession, which commenced immediately after the death of Rāmadēva, dragged on up to the end of A.D. 1635. During the early stages of the war, Timmarāja won some notable advantages. In Nov. A.D. 1632 he made himself the master of the forts of Karunguḷipāḷem (Karungaḷi in Vellore Tk.) near Wandiwash and Kāṭūr in the neighbourhood of Pulicat. Prince Śrīranga, a nephew of Venkaṭa III, took the

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Campagnie* i, pp. 492-93.

† The prevalence of civil war and anarchy is also referred to by the English Factor at Armugam. Foster: *English Factories In India (1630-33)*, p. 204.

field on behalf of his uncle, and marched against Timmarāja and his followers who entrenched themselves at Kulūr (Kōlūr, Ponneri tk.) in the vicinity of Kāṭūr. Isjabrants, the Dutch factor at Pulicat, lent him some ammunition, which he put to effective use during the ensuing operations. The fort of Kāṭūr was surrendered to him on 15 April, A.D. 1635, and Kōlūr followed suit; and Sōḷavaram fell at the end of the month. And Timmarāja who retired to Kāñcīvaram was surrounded by another section of the Karṇāṭaka army and was compelled to sue for terms. He was allowed to keep Chingelput and Karunguḷipāḷem, on condition that he handed over Sōḷavaram, Toripatūr and Satavūr to Venkaṭa III, who was proclaimed sovereign. Timmarāja, however, showed again inclination to give trouble; but he was put down by the help of the Nāyak of Cenji who slew him ultimately. After the death of Timmarāja (A.D. 1635), peace was restored in the country, and Venkaṭa III went to Vellore and lived there.*

Although Venkaṭa III was theoretically the ruler of Karṇāṭaka since the death of Rāmadēvarāya in A.D. 1630, his rule actually commenced only after the death of Timmarāja in A.D. 1635. As soon as he was firmly established at Vellore, he proceeded to make arrangements for the defence of his dominions. The Sulṭān of Bijāpūr, who captured Kurnool in A.D. 1624, began to cast envious glances at Penugoṇḍa, his ancestral capital. To provide for its proper defence, he sent in Aug. A.D., 1636 his *daḷavāy*, Candragiri Kōnēṭi Nāyaka to the fort, having bestowed it together with its dependent territory upon his as *amaram*. Kōnēṭi Nāyaka who had taken possession of his new estate managed to preserve its independence until the final dissolution of the empire some thirteen years later (240).

Venkaṭa III was not destined to rule in peace. In the first place, the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura, who suspected that he was in close alliance with the Nāyak of Cenji, plotted to

* Macleod; *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* i, pp. 492-3; ii, pp. 13-15.

seize him with Tupāgi Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, a general of Cenji, at a place where all of them had arranged to meet together; but the plot miscarried; and a war between Venkaṭa III and the Southern Nāyaks began early in A.D. 1637.* The history of this war is unknown. Probably Venkaṭa soon made up his differences with his powerful subordinates.

Secondly, Venkaṭa III had to contend against internal troubles and foreign invasions. The *Vīrappaya Kālajñāna* declares that several untoward events happened in the middle of the Bahudhānya (Aug. Sept., A.D. 1638); all the forts fell into the hands of the Muhammadans; and the most powerful *Manne* chiefs of the day were enslaved by them (16). The account of the *Kālajñāna* is confirmed by the evidence of the *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam* which asserts that the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr, at the instance of the chief of Tarikere and Basavāpaṭṭaṇam, *i.e.*, Kenge Hanuma, sent an army under Randaula K͟hān to conquer Ikkēri and other territories.† Randaula proceeded to Karnāṭaka, and before he actually commenced operations agaist Vīrabhadra Nāyaka, he took an important step calculated to strengthen his position. The petty chiefs of Karṇāṭaka, whom he intended to attack, were still, though only in name, the subjects of the emperor of Vijayanagara. An attack on any of them might involve him in a war with the Rāya; and all the Hindu chiefs in the face of common danger might join their forces together, and having placed themselves under his command, oppose his advance. The chances of his success lay in Hindu disunion. To keep his enemies divided, Randaula artfully proposed an alliance with the Rāya. He declared that the Rāya should co-operate with him to subjugate the turbulent chiefs of Karṇāṭa; he desired no territorial acquisition, but was willing to remain contented with the movable property that

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* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Campagnie* ii, p. 170.

† *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam*, 6: 31. Hanuma appears to be a common name borne by all the members of the family to indicate their devotion to their family deity Hanumān. The predecessors of Kongaṇa, the contemporary Randaula K͟hān, bore the names of Vīra Hanumappa, Immaḍi Hanumappa and Huccu Hanumappa respectively. (See *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. v, p. 1276).

he might capture; and all the conquered forts belonged, of course, to the Rāya; and he could take possession of them.

Venkaṭa, who was probably taken in by the prospect of power held out by Randaula, accepted the proposal and entered into an alliance with him; but as soon as he grasped its real significance, he repudiated it, 'made common cause with the other rājas and hoisted the banner of revolt'. Randaula, however, did not give up his plan. He found a more pliable tool to promote his schemes of conquest in Śrīranga, a son of Cina Venkaṭa, a younger brother of Venkaṭa III. Śrīranga, who was taken in adoption by Gōpālarāja of Kandanavōlu, became, after the conquest of that place in A.D. 1624, a subject of the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr. He helped Venkaṭa III, as noticed already, in overthrowing Timmarāja in A. D. 1635; and since that time, owing to some differences with his uncle, he retired to his estate, and waited for an opportunity to better his fortune. Randaula now entered into an alliance with Śrīranga on the same conditions which he offered to Venkaṭa, and began to prosecute his war against the petty chiefs of Karṇāṭa.*

Having taken precautions to prevent the arrival of any possible help from Vellore, Randaula Khān marched on Ikkēri with the help of Kenge Hanuma, and captured it on Puṣya ba. 10, Īśvara, Ś.S. 1560 (30 Dec., A.D. 1637). Vīrabhadra Nāyaka, unable to offer resistance, fled to Bhuvanagiri; but as Randaula pursued him thither, he was obliged to sue for peace. He surrendered his claims to the conquered forts, and was allowed to hold the remaining territory as a subordinate of the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr.†

* *Muḥammadnāmah, S. T. C. 2*, p. 103. Zahūr assigns the conclusion of this pact with the Rāyal and Śrī Ranga to the period following the capture of Bēlūr and Tumkūr in A.H. 1049 (A.D. 1639). This does not appear to be likely; for, the Dutch records state that Śrīranga rose in rebellion near the Bijāpūr frontier in A.D. 1638. As Śrīranga obviously caused this disturbance to embarrass Venkaṭa III and help Randaula, he must have entered into alliance with Randaula by this time. Therefore, Randaula's pact with Venkaṭa III, and the latter's repudiation of it must be assigned to a still earlier date.

† *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam* 6: 30-33. The *Muḥammadnāmah* assigns Randaula's attack on Ikkēri to 1030 A.H. (A.D. 1630). This is too early a date for the expedition. The other

Randaula did not, however, return to Bijāpūr after his victories over Vīrabhadra Nāyaka, as he was instructed by the Sulṭān to subjugate the whole of Malnāḍ and Karṇāṭaka. Therefore, he moved eastwards, crossed the Tungabhadrā and contemplated an attack upon Tāḍipatri in the Anantapur district, which was the headquarters at this time of the Pemmasāni chiefs of Gaṇḍikōṭa; but Kenge Hanuma, who was won over by the *Manne* chiefs of that region, dissuaded Randaula from proceeding in that direction and diverted his attention to Bangalore, where Kempe Gauḍa was ruling with pomp and pride.* Another reason for this change of direction was the outbreak of a rebellion in that region headed by Randaula's ally Śrīranga. Therefore, he allowed himself to be persuaded by Hanuma and commanded the troops to march towards Bangalore in the south.

As soon as the news of the rebellion of Śrīranga reached Vellore, Venkaṭa III hastened with 25,000 men to put him down; but he learnt on the way that Randaula had already invaded Karṇāṭa with 90,000 men and penetrated as far as Bangalore. Realising that his forces were not adequate to oppose the invader, he quickly returned to his capital and sent an appeal to his Nāyaks for help.†

In the meantime Randaula advanced on Bangalore taking the fort of Sira on his way. Notwithstanding the temporary disaffection of Kenge Hanuma, Randaula captured the fort, and appointed Shahāji, one of his lieutenants, as its governor. He next proceeded to Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam and invested the fort for a month; but at the end of this period, he raised the siege on obtaining an indemnity of 5 lakhs of *hons* from its

facts mentioned in this work in connection with the conquest of Ikkēri are the same as those of *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam*, only the *Muḥammadnāmah* has Kasnauldurg in the place of Bhuvanagiri (*Muhammadnāmah S. T. C.* 2, p. 96).

* *Muḥammadnāmah S.T,C.* 2, p. 99.

† Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, p. 173.

ruler, Kanṭhīrava Narasa and returned with the army to Bijāpūr. These events took place in A.D. 1638–39.*

It is, however, doubtful whether Randaula Khān's retirement from Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam was due to the payment by Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja of a large indemnity of five lakhs of *hons*. The *Kanṭhīrava-Narasarājēndra-Vijayam*, which was composed in A. D. 1648, gives an elaborate account of Randaula Khān's campaign in the Kannaḍa country, and attributes his retreat from Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa to a defeat sustained by him at the hands of Kanṭhīrava Narasa.†

Randaula did not long remain in Bijāpūr; for the outbreak of a rebellion of the chiefs for Malnāḍ brought him back to the scene of his recent activities again. Kenge Hanuma with whose help Randaula conquered Malnāḍ rose up in rebellion, and having fortified Basavāpaṭṭaṇam entered into an alliance with the other chiefs in that neighbourhood. He probably approached Venkaṭa III and obtained from him a promise of support.

When the intelligence of this rebellion reached Bijāpūr, the Sulṭān despatched an army under Randaula Khān to put it down. Randaula having marched with his troops reached Harihara on the Tungabhadrā, and lay encamped there. He is said to have written to Vīrabhadra of Ikkēri soliciting his help, and promising the restoration of the territory conquered from him recently. Vīrabhadra is said to have joined him readily.‡

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* *Muḥammadnāmah S.T.C.* 2, pp. 98-100. The *Busātīn-us-Salāṭīn* (p. 346) places the capture of Bangalore and Sira in 1048 A.H. (1638 A.D.)

در سنهٔ هزار و چهل و هشت بنگلور و سرا هر دو مفتوح شده

† *Kanṭhīrava-Narasarājēndra-Vijayam*, pp. 181-293.

‡ *Muḥammadnāmah*, S. T. C. p. 200.

The *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam* gives a slightly different account. Vīrabhadra retired, after his defeat at the hands of Randaula Khān, to the fort of Bidurūr which he made his headquarters. The injury caused by the chief of Tarikere and Basavāpaṭṭaṇam, however, rankled in his mind. To get even with him, Vīrabhadra resolved to seek an alliance with the Sulṭān, and bring about the downfall of his enemy. He sent Rāmakṛṣṇappa, a *niyōgi* in his service, to Bijāpūr, in the month of Mārgaśira of Bahudhānya, Ś.S. 1561 (Dec. 1638), and obtained the Sulṭān's consent to join Randaula Khān in his expedition against Basavāpaṭṭaṇam. When Ramākṛṣṇappa arrived at Bidurūr with a favourable reply from the Sulṭān, Vīrabhadra despatched him with an army under Śivappa Nāyaka to Randaula's camp at Harihara. They joined him and invaded the territory belonging to Tarikere-Basavāpaṭṭaṇam.*

The difference between the accounts of the *Muḥammadnāmah* and the *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam* is negligible. Whether Randaula invited Vīrabhdra to join him, or the latter volunteered help on his own account is of little consequence. Both the accounts agree that Kenge Hanuma's rebellion was put down by the joint efforts of Randaula and Vīrabhadra.

The story of the campaign against Hanuma may now be briefly told. Randaula endeavoured at first to persuade Hanuma to submit without fighting; but he was obstinate; then, he advanced on Basavāpaṭṭaṇam, and besieged the town. Hanuma's brothers were taken prisoners in the fight; Afzal Khān, one of Randaula's lieutenants, entered the town, and defeated the forces which Hunuma sent to dislodge him. Hanuma thereupon surrendered the citadel, and sued for peace by offering Randaula Khān a large sum of money.†

While Randaula was engaged in conducting the operations against Kenge Hanuma, Venkaṭa III marched with an army of 1,30,000 men from Vellore which the Nāyaks sent to

* *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam*: 6 : 34. † *Ibid*; *Muḥammadnāmah S.T.C.* 2, pp. 100-1.

him in response to his appeal, early in A.D. 1639; but nothing is known of this campaign except that he was defeated and returned to Vellore in July, having agreed to pay a large indemnity to the enemy. In November he started again with 20,000 men to capture Bangalore; but returned to Vellore, as news of the fall of Basavāpuram (Basavāpaṭṭaṇam) and the invasion of Karṇāṭaka by the Bijāpūr army reached him half way.*

Randaula halted for a short time at Basavāpaṭṭaṇam; his presence was required elsewhere. The chief of Cikkanāyakanahaḷḷi in the Tumkūr district rose in revolt, and if immediate steps were not taken to put him down, the rebellion might spread over the neighbouring region. Therefore, he despatched at once a large force under Afzal Khān, and followed him at greater leisure with the rest of the army. On the arrival of Afzal Khān at Cikkanāyakanahaḷḷi, the chief who lost his nerve submitted and surrendered his fort. Afzal Khān next attacked Bēlūr and Tumkūr and captured both the forts of Ballāpūr and Kuṇigal. Randaula appropriated all the wealth captured in them and handed the empty forts over to Śrīranga, according to the terms of the agreement.†

Another Bijāpūr invasion came under Randaula Khān in May, A.D. 1641. Venkaṭa III marched from Vellore to oppose him; he, however, returned to the capital before the rains commenced (Aug. 1641). Prince Śrīranga had now joined the Bijāpūr general who captured two fortresses belonging to Venkaṭa. The way into the interior was now open, and Randaula Khān accompanied by Śrīranga marched upon Vellore, and pitched his camp at a distance of twelve miles from the city. But the timely arrival of help from the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore, and Cenji checked the advance

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, p. 174. The *Rāmappayyan Ammānai* states that in response to his appeal, Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura sent to the Rāya an army under Rāmappayya, who joined him at Bangalore, defeated the Muhammadans and captured much booty from them (253).

† *Muhammadnāmah* S.T.C. 2, p. 103; *cf.* MacLeod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, p. 173.

of the Bijāpūr general and gave temporary relief to Venkaṭa.*

Meanwhile, the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa, who had been closely watching the trend of events, did not like that the whole of Karṇāṭaka should pass under the sovereignty of Bijāpūr. Therefore, he sent an army 4,000 horse and 14,000 foot against Karṇāṭaka from the east in April A.D. 1642 to appropriate as much territory as they could lay hands on. The army marched along the coast capturing on the way eight forts with the territories dependent thereon and reached Armugam in the extreme south of the Nellore district. The people fled in panic towards Pulicat. Venkaṭa III did not lose courage. He manfully proceeded to oppose the invaders with Velugōṭi Timma, the lord of Armugam; and Dāmerla Venkaṭa, the ruler of Madraspatam and Poonamalle, joined them with 40,000 men. They could not, however, offer effective resistance to the Gōlkoṇḍa forces. Velugōṭi Timma lost many of his forts including the island of Śrīharikōṭa midway between Armugam and Pulicat, and he fled to the hills by night. Venkaṭa III also retired to the mountainous tracts in the Chittore district, where he sojourned in a helpless condition for sometime and died on 10 October, A.D. 1642.†

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, p. 176.

† *Ibid*, pp. 176-77; Foster: *English Factories In India* (*1642-5*), pp. 44-5.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ŚRĪRANGA III.

Venkaṭa III had no legitimate children;* so, on his death he was succeeded by his 'treacherous' nephew, Śrīranga III. When his uncle lay dying among the hills of Nārāyaṇavaram, finding a good chance of saving the Vijayanagara throne for himself, he deserted the Bijāpūr general, and came forward as the defender of his ancestral kingdom.†

Śrīranga III was proclaimed king on 29 October, A.D. 1642. The first thing which he had to do was to expel the invaders from his dominions. To oppose the advance of the Gōlkoṇḍa army, he went to Tirupati, where he entrenched himself in April A.D. 1543. Though he had a large army with him, he dared not face the Mussalmans who were better armed. Moreover, the treachery of some of his nobles probably engendered a feeling of insecurity in his mind. Whatever be the reason, Śrīranga abandoned his camp and retreated towards Nārāyaṇavaram and Vellore on the approach of the Gōlkoṇḍa army. However, they did not go in pursuit of him. Instead, they proceeded to Udayagiri in the northwest of the Nellore district and laid siege to that fort.

Śrīranga could not render any assistance to the garrison at Udayagiri owing to the rebellion of some of his nobles. Dāmerla Venkaṭapati Nāyaka of Kāḷahasti was hostile to him ever since his accession.‡ In March A.D. 1643, when Śrīranga was camping at Tirupati with the object of stemming the tide of Gōlkoṇḍa invasion, he treacherously encouraged the enemy. His treason was discovered and he was arrested and kept in confinement; but he was not punished as he deserved.

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* The poet Periaṇṇa, in the introduction to his poem, *Mīnakētanābhyudayam*, dedicated to Venkaṭa III, states that Venkaṭa had a son by his queen Bhāgīarthi, called Prasannarāya Cikkarāya.

మ॥ మును భాగీరథియందు శంతనుఁడు భీష్మున్ గాంచు చందంబునన్
కనియెన్ వెంకటదేవరాయ ధరణీకాంతుండు భాగీరథీ
వనజాతేక్షణయందు బాహుబల దుర్వారారి నిర్వాపణ
త్యనఘప్రాభవునిన్ ప్రసన్నచికరాయ క్ష్మాతలాధీశ్వరున్.

† Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Campagnie* ii, p. 177.

‡ Dr. S. K. Ayyangar makes him and his brother Ayyappa members of the Velugōṭi family. (*S.T.C.*, p. 43).

Śrīranga did not put him to death; but satisfied himself with depriving him of some of his possessions.* Venkaṭapati Nāyaka, however, showed him little gratitude for his clemency. He joined Kṛṣṇappa Nāyak of Ceñji a few months later and set up the standard of rebellion.

What mainly contributed to the success of the Gōlkoṇḍa forces was the outbreak of a rebellion in Malnāḍ. Vīrabhadra, the Nāyak of Ikkēri, who never reconciled himself to the loss of his territory, stirred up rebellion, and concerted measures to overthrow the authority of Bijāpūr.† The Sulṭān on hearing of the outbreak of this insurrection commanded (Rustam-i Zamān) Randaula Khān to lead an expedition against Ikkēri and put down the insurgents. Randaula set out from Bijāpūr with a large army of horse, elephants and foot, accompanied by several officers such as Ambar Khān, Muḥammad Khān, Yākūb Khān, Ankus Khān, Sājī Khān, Fateh Khān, Farhād Khān and Khān-i-Khānān. They reached Malnāḍ, laid siege to the fort of Ikkēri and captured it.‡ Randaula appointed

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, p. 177; Foster: *English Factories (1642–45)*, p. 80.

† Ibrāhīm Zabīrī places the outbreak of this rebellion in 1047 A. H. (The *Busātin-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 318); but this date is too early; it broke out in all probability in A.D. 1642, after Randaula Khān's retirement from Karṇātaka; Zahūr assigns it to 1053 A. H. (A.D. 1643). [*Muḥammadnāmah, S.T.C.*, p. 104].

‡ *Muḥammadnāmah* calls the fort Tikri; but *Busātin us-Salāṭīn* (p. 318) mentions only Ikkēri in this connection.

و بعد از مقدمهٔ صلح ایکیری به دو سال چون از ایرابهدر خلاف
وعده و قرار در رسانیدن اقساط به وقوع پیوست باز لشکر منصوره
به آن طرف متعین شد. درین نوبت غازیان اسلام ایکیری را
از دست ایرابهدر انتزاع نمودند.

Ikkēri is also situated in the neighbourhood of Sāgar.

Khān Jān as its *havaldār*; proceeded to Shimoga and invested it. Vīrabhadra assembled a large army and sent it under his uncle Śivappa Nāyaka to attack the Mussalmans. A great battle was fought in which the Muhammadans sustained a defeat and were forced to retreat. Śivappa descended on Ikkēri, put Khān Jān to flight, reoccupied the town, and strengthened its fortifications.*

The disaster which befell the Bijāpūr army in the forests of Shimoga appears to have been great; for, it roused the wrath of the Sulṭān who, having put Rustam-i-Zamān to disgrace, collected another army and marched at its head personally to chastise the impudent rebel. He reached Bankāpūr on 11 January, A.D. 1644, and having made it his headquarters appointed Musṭafā Khān and Muẓafar-ud-Dīn Khān-i-Khānān as the commanders of the expedition. Śivappa Nāyaka did not give battle; he fortified Ikkēri and retired with a select body of troops into the interior of the hills. The Muhammadan generals proceeded towards Ikkēri with their forces, and captured the town of Sāgar after a siege of five days; the fall of Ikkēri soon followed. They next moved to Kaḷavūr, where Vīrabhadra was perhaps living, and halted in the maidan outside the town. He seems to have been convinced that he could no longer resist the Sulṭān's forces. Therefore, he sent Śarajā Rāy, a *niyōgi* in his employ, to Bankāpūr, and concluded a peace with the Sulṭān through the agency of Śivappa Nāyaka.† The affairs of Malnāḍ being thus satisfactorily settled, the 'Ādil Shāh returned to his capital on 25 March, A.D. 1644.

As the government of Bijāpūr was preoccupied with affairs of Ikkēri, they could not bestow any attention on Karṇāṭaka. Therefore, Śrīranga was left without any support; and bereft of friends and assailed by hidden and open foes, he was vanquished in the field, and lost much territory. Bijāpūr

* *Muḥammadnāmah S.T.C.* 2. pp. 104–5; *Keḷadinṛpa Vijayam* 6: 48–51.

† *Ibid.*

could not, however, allow the bulk of Karṇātaka to fall into the hands of Gōlkoṇḍa.

Taking advantage of this situation, Śrīranga sent a squad of 15 elephants and promised a sum of 15 lakhs of pagodas to the Sulṭān and obtained from him 6,000 horse and 20,000 foot (June 1643). With the aid of this army, he marched against Udayagiri, dislodged the Gōlkoṇḍa forces from the fort (Jan. 1644) and checked their advance.*

After his victory over the army of Gōlkoṇḍa, Śrīranga felt that he was strong enough to take up a firm attitude towards his nobles. He reminded the Nāyaks of Ceñji, Tanjore and Madura that they were still his vassals; and collected from them large sums of money, a portion of which he paid to the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr as the price of his support against Gōlkoṇḍa. The Nāyaks of Madura and Ceñji soon reverted to their old ways; Śrīranga, who was still supported by the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr, made an attempt to wrest the town of Āraṇi from the Nāyak of Ceñji.

Meanwhile, a second invasion from Gōlkoṇḍa disturbed the peace of the Karṇāṭaka kingdom. As the invaders met with no opposition on their way, they quickly reached Pulicat without striking a blow, and attempted to capture the town by force; they were, however, put to flight by Heussen, the Dutch commandant. The Nāyak of Ceñji, who had been annoyed with Śrīranga for attempting to seize Āraṇi, sought the friendship of Gōlkoṇḍa, and planned an attack on him from the rear. Śrīranga sent an embassy to Ceñji with the object of winning over the Nāyak to his side. On the arrival of the envoys, the Nāyak, who was awaiting instructions from Madura and Tanjore, consented to delay the despatch of troops. Śrīranga took full advantage of the brief respite he had thus obtained, and marched with his troops to meet the Gōlkoṇḍa army, accompanied by Velugōṭi Singa. They met the Muhammadans in the tank of Vemgallu on 21 Aug. A.D. 1644, and a fierce

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, pp. 180, 182 ; Foster : *English Factories In India (1642-45)*, pp. 115-6; *Sources*, p. 314.

engagement ensued in which Singa greatly distinguished himself (242). Qāsim 'Alī, the general commanding the Golkoṇḍa forces, his son and two important commanders fell in the fight, and the army fled in panic hotly pursued by the victorious Karṇāṭakas, until they passed beyond Kandukūr in the north of the Nellore district. Śrīranga was not, however, destined to enjoy the pleasure of his triumph long; for the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa obtained help from Bījāpūr; and the combined armies of Gōlkoṇḍa and Bijāpūr soon made their appearance on the frontier of Vijayanagara.

Śrīranga was not able to cope with the united armies of the Deccani Sulṭāns; he abandoned Kandukūr and retired into the interior. The Gōlkoṇḍa armies having crossed the Kṛṣṇā reached Kambham in the Kurnool district in five weeks. The principality Eṛragoṇḍapāḷem was attacked. The Nāyak died during the course of the campaign, and the strong fortress of Daddanāla fell into the hands of the invaders. The two sons of the dead chief fled to the hills of Parmaṭūr in the Nandyāla taluk; but Mir Jumla, the commander of the expedition, restored to them their father's estates on their undertaking to pay 5,00,000 pagodas at once and 1,00,000 per annum thereon.*

At the same time, the Bijāpūr general Khān-i-Khānān overran the north-eastern region in the neighbourhood of Kurnool and captured several forts including Nandyāl, and Sirivelḷa and Kanigiri (A.D. 1645).†

Suddenly the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa countermanded the war; and gave an undertaking probably to the Bijāpūr government not to set up claims to the conquests already made, pay 3,00,000 pagodas and maintain at his own cost 2,000 cavalry to keep Karṇāṭa under subjection. The reason for this abrupt termination of the campaign is not known. Probably it was due to an agreement with Śrīranga. Although Śrīranga was

* Macleod : *De Oost-Indische Campagnie* ii, pp. 182-4, 188; Foster : *English Factories In India (1642-5)*, pp. 193-4.

† *Muhammadnāmah S. T. C.* 2, pp. 107-8.

freed from the peril of the Mussalman invasion, he was immediately called upon to face a fresh danger from another quarter. The Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Cenji having joined together rose up in rebellion, and showed an inclination probably to wage war upon him. To put down this rebellion, Śrīranga recalled his army from the northern frontier, and proceeded to the south burning and plundering the countryside along his route, until he reached Cētipaṭṭu near the village of Guḍlisitamūr and awaited the arrival of the rebels. The Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura came to oppose him with 70,000 troops and halted at Sakraparon; but as they were not sure of victory, they sought help from Gōlkoṇḍa and Bijāpūr, promising to pay them large sums of money.

The help, which they sought from the Muslim courts of the Deccan, was, in fact, approaching their camps unknown to them. The great Mughal commanded the Sulṭāns of Bijāpūr and Gōlkoṇḍa to conquer and partition Karṇāṭaka between themselves; and to carry the behests of their imperial master, they despatched expeditions to Karṇāṭaka to subjugate the country.*

Muṣṭafā Khān, who headed the Bijāpūr expedition, passed through Malnāḍ and reached Śivaganga in the Bangalore district, when the ambassadors of the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Cenji met him with requests of help; he accepted their proposal and marched to Vellore, directing the Khān-i-Khānān, who was in the neighbourhood of Kurnool, to do the same.

Śrīranga realised that the best chances of his success lay in prompt action. He resolved to strike at once. To put Muṣṭafā Khān off the scent, he sent an ambassador to his camp with instructions to carry on negotiations of peace. He intended to crush the Nāyak forces by delivering a quick blow before they could effect a junction with Muṣṭafā Khān, return to Vellore after the victory, and fortify the passes so as to

*Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Campagnie* ii, pp. 188, 190.

check the advance of the Bijāpūr armies. He marched with 100 elephants 12,000 horse and 3,00,000 foot to the south, and having inflicted a defeat on the forces of Cenji, forced the Nāyak to submit. The Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura, however, offered stubborn resistance. He would have probably prevailed against them, had not Muṣṭafā Khān, who obtained information of his activities, upset his calculations by marching on Vellore. He was therefore compelled to relinquish the idea of prosecuting war against the Nāyaks, for Muṣṭafā Khān already reached Bukkapaṭṇam in the Chittore taluk and the Khān-i-Khānān came to Guṟṟamkoṇḍa in the Vayalpad taluk of the Chittore district. Therefore, Śrīranga immediately hastened to Vellore to protect it from the attacks of the Bijāpūr armies.* At the same time the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa sent an army in his turn to Vinukoṇḍa, and ordered the commander to proceed from that place to Udayagiri and capture that fort.

Śrīranga was utterly helpless. He made an appeal to Hindu nationalism, and solicited the help of his subjects to protect the state, temples, Brahmans and religion against Islamic aggression from so many sides.† This appeal was fruitless, as the Nāyaks did not realise the danger threatening Hinduism. Failing in his attempt to rouse enthusiasm for the defence of religion, Śrīranga renewed negotiations with Muṣṭafā Khān and the Khān-i-Khānān. To secure peace, however, from the Bijāpūr generals, he needed money, but his coffers were empty; and he resorted to questionable means for raising it.‡

Meanwhile, Venkanna Sōmayāji, his ambassador, who still remained in the Bijāpūr camp, prevailed on Muṣṭafā Khān to grant peace to Śrīranga, and secured permission, through the help of Shāhjī Bhonslē, to go to Vellore in company with the Bijāpūr envoy to settle the terms of peace. As soon as he reached Vellore, Venkanna Sōmayāji advised Śrīranga to

* *Muḥammadnāmah* *S.T.C.* 2, p. 113. Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, pp. 191.

† *Ibid*, p. 191. ‡ *Ibid*, pp. 191-192; *Muḥammadnāmah S.T.C.* 2, pp. 114-15.

organise defence, and fortify the passes. Śrīranga followed the advice of his envoy and effectively blocked the path of the Bijāpūr general. Moreover, a quarrel between the Bijāpūr generals weakened their position. Muṣṭafā Khān brought a charge of embezzlement against the Khān-i-Khānān, who was obliged in consequence to visit the court to justify his conduct.*

Muṣṭafā Khān was secretly informed of Śrīranga's activities by his rebellious ministers. He was probably inclined to arrive at an understanding with Śrīranga and retire to his country. But the Nāyaks made up their minds to get rid of Śrīranga once for all; they massed 60,000 troops in the neighbourhood of Vellore; and in order to embarrass him further offered fresh inducements to the Bijāpūr commanders not to abandon the campaign, but to attack some of his possessions. They prevailed on Muṣṭafā Khān to besiege Penugoṇḍa by promising to pay him a sum of 20 lakhs of *pardaos*; and persuaded the Khān-i-Khānān on his return from Bijāpūr, to proceed against Kōlār.† They accepted the offer; Muṣṭafā Khān marched against Penugoṇḍa and was within four miles of the fort in December A.D. 1645. *Daḷavāy* Kōnēṭi Nāyaḍu, whom Venkaṭa III appointed as the governor (240), was still in possession of the fort; he probably managed to beat back the invader. The Khān-i-Khānān united himself with Si-Na-Rodja (Cina Venkaṭa) who was at Guṟṟamkoṇḍa and marched to Kōlār to take possession of Kōkanṭiwara.

Śrīranga made desperate efforts to defend himself. He sent his *daḷavāy*, Rāmarāja, with an army towards Cētipaṭṭu, Malūr and Tinḍīvanam in the south to distract the attention of the Nāyaks and entrenched himself on a height near Vellore to prevent any possible attack upon it. The results of the *daḷavāy's* expedition are not known; but Śrīranga fought a battle with the Nāyak army in Dec. A.D. 1645 and was defeated. He fled to Vellore and crept into the fort; and sent

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, p. 194.

† *Ibid*, p. 393; *Muhammadnāmah S.T.C.* 2, p. 115.

in his extremity an appeal to Muṣṭafā Khān for help;* and repairing to Arcot, he deputed his trusted friend Hore Nāraṇappa to the Nāyaks to open negotiations. They appear to have been unwilling to come to an understanding with Śrīranga, without the consent of their ally Muṣṭafā Khān. So they approached him with a request to arrange the terms of peace. In compliance with their request, Muṣṭafā Khān came to Vellore and began to negotiate with Śrīranga as well as the Nāyaks to gain large sums of money. Śrīranga knew that these negotiations would not help him much; for he learnt that Gōlkoṇḍa and Bijāpūr courts had entered into an alliance; and Mir Jumla, the commander of the Gōlkoṇḍa armies, was planning an expedition against Karṇāṭaka with the knowledge and co-operation of the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr. Nevertheless, Śrīranga resolved to adhere to Muṣṭafā Khān and organise the defence of Udayagiri. These involved heavy expenditure and he had no money to finance his schemes. Consequently, he could neither win the friendship of Muṣṭafā Khān, nor ward off the invasion from Gōlkoṇḍa; but the sudden departure of Muṣṭafā Khān and the Khān-i-Khānān to Bijāpūr on receiving a false report of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh's death, however, gave him breathing time. †

In the meantime, Mir Jumla marched from Gōlkoṇḍa with an army on Udayagiri; this fort, which was under the command of Varadappa Nāyaka, a brother of Venkaṭappa, the Nāyak of Ceñji, was entrusted to Kōnēri, a nephew of the merchant Cinnana Seṭṭi, in March A.D. 1645, when Varadappa resigned his place and retired to Ceñji to succeed his dead brother. On obtaining the information of the advance of the Gōlkoṇḍa army, Śrīranga sent Cinnana with 50,000 men to oppose him; but Cinnana turned traitor. When Mir Jumla laid siege to Udayagiri, he surrendered the fort, and was allowed to

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, p. 393.

† *Ibid*, p. 394. The Dutch *Dagh Register* asserts that the Sulṭān actually died; but as a matter of fact he was alive until A.D. 1656. The Sulṭān fell so seriously ill in A.D. 1646 that the news of his death seems to have been circulated in the kingdom.

go away free with all his people. The fort of Udayagiri thus fell into the hands of Mir Jumla without much trouble. Then he turned towards the west, and attacked the principality of Ciṭṭivēli in the Cuddapah district belonging to the Maṭli chiefs and captured Kalitūr, Duvvūr, Cennūr, Badvēl, Pōrumāmiḷḷa and Kāmalāpuram (240). Maṭli Kumāra Ananta, the ruler of the principality, had not only to acquiesce in the loss of territory, as he could not repel these aggressions, but to purchase peace by offering the aggressor a large sum of money.*

While Mir Jumla was engaged in effecting the conquest of Ciṭṭivēli, Muṣṭafā Khān returned from Bijāpūr to resume the campaign in Karṇāṭaka. The rivalry between Bijāpūr and Gōlkoṇḍa, which hitherto impeded the progress of the Muslim conquest, gave place to amity, on account of a dynastic alliance between the two courts; and the Muslim armies under these circumstances were expected to co-operate with each other to overthrow the infidel.†

The combined attack of the Deccan Muhammadan powers upon Karṇāṭaka seems for once to have awakened in the minds of the Nāyaks the fear of common danger that was threatening them all. Therefore, when they heard of Muṣṭafā Khān's advance upon Vellore, the Nāyaks of Mysore, Kangundi, Tanjore, and Ginji (Cenji) came forward to support Śrīranga; but the Nāyak of Madura held back on account of selfish reasons. The Hindu force of 10,000 horse, 1,40,000 foot assembled for the defence of the nation and religion. To maintain this force, some of the chiefs such as Jagadēva, Nāraṇapa and Vengana voluntarily contributed money and gold; and Śrīranga took the jewels of the women of Vellore and the money of the temple of Tirupati. Having equipped himself in this manner, Śrīranga went to battle with Muṣṭafā Khān.‡

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, pp. 394, 400. Foster: *English Factories In India (1646-50)*, pp. 25-6.

† Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, p. 394.

‡ *Ibid*, pp. 396, 398.

The passes on the direct route to Karṇāṭaka were strongly guarded by Śrīranga's troops. Muṣṭafā Khān was, therefore, obliged to make a detour, and reach Śrīranga's capital by another path. He resolved to pass through the country of Jagadēva Row, the Rāja of Cennapaṭṭana, in the present Mysore state, and descend into the plains through the passes in the Salem district. When Muṣṭafā Khān moved with his troops towards the south-west, Śrīranga believed that he had retreated; but information soon reached him that Muṣṭafā Khān invaded the territories of Jagadēva Row, and was encamped at Māsti, a place about 30 miles to the east of Bangalore. Śrīranga hastened to Guḍiyātam in the North Arcot district, and passing through the territories of Jagadēva, reached the fort of Kṛṣṇagiri in the north-west of the Salem district. Shāhjī Bhonslē and Asad-ul-Khawānīn, who were probably in charge of some forts in that neighbourhood, wrote to Muṣṭafā Khān asking for reinforcements, which the latter promptly despatched under his *sar-khayl* with instructions to proceed with speed. But the *sar-khayl*, who found his path blocked by the enemy, was compelled to offer battle; Jagadēva Row and Śrīranga engaged the enemy in the front, whereas the chiefs of Mysore and Kangundi took him in the rear. Though the court historian, Ẓahūr, claims a victory for the Mussalmans, they suffered, as a matter of fact, a reverse, and retreated three miles, losing 1,000 horse and a large number of men. Śrīranga could not, however, take advantage of his victory, as the Nāyaks of Kangundi and Mysore deserted him. Muṣṭafā Khān summoned the Khān-i-Khānān with 8,000 horse to his assistance, and as soon as he joined him, occupied the places abandoned by Śrīranga, advanced into the country of Jagadēva, and set about the systematic reduction of his forts.

Śrīranga, unable to carry on the war single-handed, retreated to Vellore; and Jagadēva despatched his women and children to his capital, Vīrabhadradurgam, and himself retired to Kṛṣṇagiri. Though he offered stubborn resistance his country was subdued, and his important forts fell into the hands of the Bijāpūr general.

Notwithstanding the success of his arms, Muṣṭafā Khān was anxious to come to an understanding with Śrīranga and terminate the war. Owing to the outbreak of a famine, the continuation of war became more and more difficult. He wrote to Śrīranga offering to consider terms of peace; but the latter, influenced by the counsels of Bahlōl (Babala) Khān and Dāmerla Venkaṭa, temporised. Their object was to prevent the union of the Nāyaks and the Gōlkoṇḍa forces and win over the former to their side; and though a peace with Muṣṭafā Khān was ultimately desirable, war should be carried on with him until they achieved their object.

Muṣṭafā Khān, getting no satisfactory reply from Śrīranga, marched on Vellore; he captured Guḍiyātam, a fort considered impregnable on account of its fortifications, and Viriñcipuram on the Pālār on his way and reached a place within three miles of Vellore.

Meanwhile, the Nāyaks showed a friendly disposition to Śrīranga and promised to send him help. Mysore and Kangundi apologised for their desertion; and Madura wrote to Tanjore that Śrīranga deserved to be supported. They promised to give him 40,000 men and 60,000 *pardaus* for the defence of the kingdom. He sent Nāraṇappa and other nobles to fix up matters finally with the Nāyaks. But before the help promised by the Nāyaks reached him, Śrīranga was obliged to give battle to the enemy. A big battle took place in the neighbourhood of Vellore on 4th April A.D. 1646. Dāmerla Venkaṭa commanded the centre of Śrīranga's army, facing Muṣṭafā Khān in the enemy's centre; Bahlol Khān and Dilāwar Khān, two Muslim officers in Śrīranga's service, took up positions on his right and left opposing Sīdī Raiḥān and Shāhjī Bhonslē in the Bijāpūr lines. In the fight that ensued, Bahlōl and Dilāwar were routed; and the Hindus accepting defeat fled into the fort for refuge. Dāmerla Venkaṭa in the centre, however, held out and delivered a counter attack; but in the end he too had to retire wounded.

Muṣṭafā Khān thereupon marched on Vellore and laid siege to the fort. Śrīranga who had no means of defending his capital promised to surrender.*

While Śrīranga was engaged in settling the terms of his surrender, the Nāyaks, who were unaware of his condition, sent word to him that he should repair to Cenji to confer with them and concert measures for the defence of the realm. Though he came to an understanding with Muṣṭafā Khān, he could not completely satisfy him owing to the lack of means. Though the prevalence of drought rendered Muṣṭafā's sojourn in the neighbourhood of Vellore extremely inconvenient, he loitered in that region until the middle of A.D. 1646. At last he retired to the Mysore country, and concentrated his attention on the subjugation of Jagadēva Row's country. He captured Kāvēripaṭan, Hāsan, Rāidurg, Vīrabhadradurg, Kanakagiri, Ratnagiri, Mēlgiri, Arjunakōṭa, Daḷanāyakankōṭa and other places in quick succession; and returned to Bijāpūr entrusting the defence to Asad-ul-Khawānīn and Shāhjī Bhonslē.†

The retirement of Muṣṭafā Khān did not bring Śrīranga peace; for Mir Jumla, who had captured Udayagiri, advanced at the head of the Gōlkoṇḍa army swiftly along the east coast capturing in quick succession Toṇḍamanāḍ, Tirupati and Candragiri before April, A.D. 1646, and finally made his appearance before the famous port of Pulicat. Though he attempted to arrive at an understanding with the Dutch, his efforts could not bear fruit, owing to the refusal of the Dutch factor to recognize the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa as the master of the country.

Notwithstanding these troubles, Śrīranga was obliged to leave his capital to confer with the Nāyaks at Tirupandalam.

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, p. 398; *Muḥammadnāmah*, *S. T. C.* 2, pp. 115–118. The *Muḥammadnāmah* assigns these events to A.H. 1057 (A.D. 1647); but the dates given in the Dutch *Dagh Register* are accepted in this account, as they are likely to be more accurate.

† *Muḥammadnāmah*, *S.T.C.* 2, p. 119.

The steps which he had taken for the protection of the capital are not known, but as Mir Jūmla did not approach Vellore during the ensuing campaign, it may be inferred that he did not leave the capital without adequate protection. The conference, however, did not produce any tangible results, as the Nāyaks who were jealous of one another could not reach an agreement.*

Śrīranga seems to have given up all hopes of defending the kingdom. He could not even think of returning to Vellore, as Mir Jumla's army swept over its neighbourhood like a fierce tornado. After resting eight days at Pulicat, Mir Jumla set out with his troops plundering and burning the country. Some of the Hindu nobles fled in panic and others joined him. He captured Ponnēri, Poonamalli, Kāñcīpuram and Chingleput one after another, proceeded as far as the frontiers of Ceñji and retired in March, A. D. 1648 to Kāñcīpuram to spend there the rainy season.† Therefore, Śrīranga had to abandon the idea of returning to the capital and sought shelter at the court of the Nāyak of Tanjore.

Śrīranga was constrained to withdraw himself from the arena by force of circumstances. The defence of the nation and religion which he attempted to organize in vain had now devolved upon the Nāyaks, but they were as disunited as ever. The Nāyaks of Tanjore and Ceñji could not contemplate resistance as they were weak. Only Mysore and Madura made a half-hearted attempt to unite and ward off the impending danger. They combined their forces, obtained some help from Muṣṭafā K͟hān and met the Gōlkoṇḍa army in the plain outside Wandiwash. Many of the Vijayanagara nobles, like the Velugōṭi chiefs who tendered their submission to Mir Jumla, ranged themselves against the Nāyaks. In the contest that ensued the forces of Madura and Mysore were defeated and put to flight. Mir Jumla occupied Wandiwash and other places and proceeded to lay siege to Ceñji. The authority of

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, p. 403. † *Ibid.*

the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa was thus established over a large part of Karṇāṭaka.*

Mir Jumla's victory over the armies of Madura and Mysore, and the fear that he might seize the strong fortress of Ceñji roused the jealousy of Bijāpūr, and brought Muṣṭafā Khān again into Karṇāṭaka. When he approached Ceñji, Mir Jumla who resented his intrusion showed an inclination to fight; Muṣṭafā Khān summoned thereupon the Khān-i-Khānān, Rustam-i-Zamān, and Afzal Khān to his assistance; but Mir Jumla, on hearing of the approach of the reinforcements, concluded peace with Muṣṭafā Khān, and retired into the Quṭb Shāhī dominions. The obstacle being thus removed from his path, Muṣṭafā Khān marched to Ceñji and laid siege to the fort; but before he could effect its capture, he fell seriously ill and died. After his death the Khān-i-Khānān, who was at Nandyāl, concerting measures for the conquest of Tāḍpatṛi, was instructed by the Sulṭān to proceed to Ceñji and assume the command of the army. In obedience to the royal command, Khān-i-Khānān reached Ceñji, and having taken over the command of the forces, directed the operations vigorously and eventually succeeded in capturing the fort.

Śrīranga now became a king without a kingdom, and a helpless fugitive at the court of one of his subordinates, a position which was galling to his proud nature. Moreover, the Nāyak of Tanjore like his compeer of Ceñji was forced into submission to Bijāpūr early in A.D. 1649;† and Tanjore ceased to be a safe place for sojourn. Therefore, Śrīranga resolved to repair to Mysore which still managed to retain its independence and see what fortune had in store for him.‡

The flight of Śrīranga from Karṇāṭaka to Mysore was the signal for the systematic subjugation of the small principalities which were not yet brought under Mussalman sway. Of these three states deserve special mention. The

* Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, p. 405. † *Ibid*, p. 407.
‡ *Ibid*, p. 408.

Maṭli chiefs of Ciṭṭivēli and Siddhavaṭam still ruled over a fairly extensive territory. To overthrow their authority Mir Jumla sent an expedition under Bakṣi Triambak Row with two Mussalman officers in A.D.1649; Kumāra Anantarāja, the ruling chief, slew the officers and put the Bakṣi to flight; but being alarmed at the possible consequences of his action, he abandoned his territories and repaired to the Kanarese country in the west (241). Mir Jumla also succeeded in ousting the Pemmasāni chiefs of Gaṇḍikōṭa in the same year with the consent of the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr.* At the same time, the Bijāpūr generals were equally busy in the Western Telugu country; they captured between A.D. 1649 and A.D. 1652 a number of places including Penugoṇḍa, the ancestral capital of the Āravīḍu monarchs (240). The *Kaifiyat of Sugumancipalli* sums up the Muhammadan conquests in a brief passage. The Nawāb (Mir Jumla) came from Gōlkoṇḍa in Ś. S. 1571 Vikṛti, A.D. 1649-50 and captured Gaṇḍikōṭa. After subduing the fort, the Nawāb conquered Gutti, Guṟṟamkoṇḍa, Kāñcī, Vandavāsi, Cengalpaṭṭu, Arikāḍu, Mylāpūru and Cennapaṭṇam, so that the country up to the eastern sea came under the government of Gōlkoṇḍa. At the same time, Amīr Khān, an officer from Bijāpūr, captured Penugoṇḍa, Vēlūru, Cenji, Āraṇi, Basavāpaṭṇam† and other places (244). Thus by A.D. 1652, the Muhammadan conquest of the Vijayanagara empire was completed and the Hindu independence for the protection of which it was called into being also vanished with it except in Mysore and Madura, where it lingered for some time longer.

Śrīranga's movements during the two or three years that followed his flight to Mysore are not known. He is generally believed to have sojourned at Bēlūr in the territories of Śivappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri, who is said to have helped him to regain

* *Muḥammadnāmah S. T. C.* 2, p. 132.

† Basavāpaṭṇam was not captured in AD. 1649-50, but a dozen years earlier, as noticed already. The *Muḥammadnāmah* assigns the capture of Penugoṇḍa to the period following Jumādi 3, I A. H. 1059 (May 6, A. D. 1649). The Dutch records definitely state that Penugoṇḍa was captured in March, A. D. 1653.

his capital in A.D. 1646.* This is, however, opposed to facts; for, in the first place, Śrīranga's flight did not take place until A. D. 1649; and secondly, he did not seek refuge with Śivappa of Ikkēri but with the Nāyak of Mysore.†

Śrīranga's sojourn in Mysore was not, however, long. During the few years that he remained there, the affairs of Karṇāṭaka had undergone a rapid change. The friendship between Bijāpūr and Gōlkoṇḍa which mainly contributed to the speedy Muslim conquest of Karṇāṭaka proved transient. The earliest symptoms of hostility made themselves manifest under the walls of Cenji in A.D. 1649, when Muṣṭafā Khān, as noticed already, compelled Mir Jumla, who was besieging the fort, to raise the siege and retire from the place. Other causes also tended to increase the friction. 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh secured from the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr, after the payment of a large sum of money, the right to conquer the fort of Gaṇḍikōṭa about A. D. 1649. Mir Jumla, to whom the task was entrusted, not only captured Gaṇḍikōṭa but seized the neighbouring fort of Gutti also, and encroached on the Bijāpūr territory in certain places. This brought on a war in its train. Khān Muḥammad who was sent from Bijāpūr to chastise Mir Jumla defeated him in battle and forced him to seek shelter under the walls of Gutti.‡ The warfare continued for some time and a treaty was concluded between the two kingdoms in January, A.D. 1652; and Gōlkoṇḍa was allowed to keep her late conquests after paying to Bijāpūr government a sum of 6,00,000 pagodas.§ Nevertheless, the war did not cease; Khān Muḥammad, who captured Penugoṇḍa in March A.D. 1653,

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* *Mys. Gaz.* II, iii, pp. 2372-3.

† Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* ii, p. 408; Foster: *English Factories In India (1650-52)*, Intro., pp. xxiv and xxv.

‡ The *Muḥammadnāmah* has Candragutti (*Muḥammadnāmah S.T.C.* p. 132); but this is obviously a mistake. Candragutti is in the north of Mysore, which is far away from Gaṇḍikōṭa. As this Candragutti is said to be situated at a distance of four farsangs from Gaṇḍikōṭa, there can be no doubt that the fort referred to here is Gutti in the Anantapur district.

§ Foster: *English Factories In India, (1650-52)*, pp. 99, 111; *Muḥammadnamah, S.T.C.* 2, pp. 131-2.

halted at Roddam in the Anantapur district and requested permission to pass through the territory held by Gōlkoṇḍa on his way to Ceñji; but this was refused by Mir Jumla who had no desire to cultivate the friendship of Bijāpūr.

Mir Jumla, who entertained the idea of establishing himself in Karṇāṭaka, was alarmed by the recent success of the Bijāpūr troops. The extension of their territory in the Pennār valley, especially the recent acquisition of the Penugoṇḍa, filled his mind with apprehension, and he resolved to dislodge them from Karṇāṭaka altogether. To achieve his object, he opened negotiations with the Nāyak of Mysore, and Śrīranga. He instigated the former, probably to divert attention, to rebel against Bijāpūr, and persuaded the latter to return to Karṇāṭaka, and recapture his possessions conquered by Bijāpūr. The Nāyak of Mysore allied himself with Sīdī Raiḥān and other Bijāpūr officers, who revolted from their master, and took all the forts of the country conquered by Musṭafā Khān in the preceding years. Śrīranga returned to Vellore and raised a large army to drive the Bijāpūris out of the country.*

The news of these developments reached Khān Muḥammad who was on his way to Bijāpūr at Badkōṭ. He immediately changed the direction of his journey and marched against the Rāja of Mysore who, having by this time completed the subjugation of the country of Jagadēva, attacked the strong fort Kṛṣṇagiri. Khān Muḥammad reached Kṛṣṇagiri, expelled the Rāja of Mysore and captured four other forts, which he had recently wrested from the Bijāpūr officers. Leaving a detachment of his troops under Sīdī Mas'ūd to reduce the other forts that were still in the possession of the Mysore forces, he proceeded to Vellore to put down Śrīranga and re-establish the authority of the Bijāpūr government.

* Foster: *English Factories In India (1651-54)*, Intro., p. xxxiii; *Muḥammadnāmah*, *S.T.C.* 2, p. 133.

On the approach of Khān Muḥammad, Śrīranga is said to have sought safety in flight. Nevertheless, the garrison defending Vellore held out bravely and did not surrender the fort, until they were compelled to submit by the hardships of a protracted siege in the middle of A. D. 1654. The victory of Khān Muḥammad over Śrīranga was not perhaps as complete as Zahūr would have us believe; for, he was obliged to come to terms with Śrīranga and cede him the fort of Candragiri with its dependencies.*

This arrangement, however, was not destined to remain permanent, as it was profoundly affected by the changes in affairs of the Deccan, that came in the wake of two important events which occurred in A. D. 1656. The rupture between Mir Jumla and his master which had been apparent for some time past became complete. Mir Jumla, whom 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh sent to conquer Karṇāṭaka, converted his *jāgīr* in that country into a kingdom 300 miles long and 50 miles broad, amassed vast fortune, employed European gunners and cannon founders in his service and greatly increased the strength and efficiency of his army.† When 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh attempted to reduce him to submission by force, he sought the intervention of the Mughal emperor in A. D. 1655, and joined prince Aurangzib, the *subēdār* of the Deccan, near Hyderābād in March, A. D. 1556.‡ Mir Jumla did not in the midst of his troubles forget his hostility to Bijāpūr, which thwarted his attempts to extend his territory. Therefore, when he left Karṇāṭaka to join Aurangzeb, he carried with him an appeal from Śrīranga to the Mughal emperor soliciting help against the Bijāpūr government.§ As an appeal of this

* *Muḥammadnāmah S. T. C.* 2, p. 133; Foster: *English Factories In India* [*1655-60* (?)], p. xxxiii.

† Sarkar: *Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 33.

‡ (*Hadīqat-ul-'Alam*) *Bhārat Itihās Samśōdhak Maṇḍal Granthamāla* No. 39, p. 74.

§ *Muḥammadnāmah S.T.C.* 2, p. 133. Zahūr places this incident before the capture of Vellore by Khān Muḥammad. This is impossible; for Vellore was captured, according to the Dutch records, some time before Nov. 7, A.D. 1654, whereas Mir Jumla joined the Mughals much later in March A.D. 1656. Therefore, Śrīranga could not have sent his appeal to the Mughal emperor before A. D. 1656, unless it is presumed that he took again Vellore from Bijāpūr in the interval, for which, however, there is no evidence.

kind was not expected to go unheeded by the Mughal emperor, the Bijāpūr government instructed its governor in Karṇāṭaka to chastise Śrīranga for attempting to embroil them in a war with Dehli. The account of Zahūr is so confused that it is not possible to know what steps the governor took to punish Śrīranga. He could not have achieved, at any rate, much in the way of enforcing the orders of his government, as Śrīranga obtained help from an unexpected quarter, which strengthened his position considerably. 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh, who was justly enraged by the treacherous conduct of Mir Jumla, resolved to deprive him of his possessions in Karṇāṭaka and entered into an alliance with Śrīranga. It was reported that he gave back Karṇāṭaka to the Rāyal. The Hindu chiefs in several places rose against Mir Jumla's officials and joined the Rāyal; and encouraged by the accession of fresh strength and the promises of the Quṭb Shāh, he concerted measures to recover his lost possessions. He captured Tirupati and designed the conquest of Conjeevaram, Chingelput and Pulicat; and achieved a fair measure of success notwithstanding a few reverses.* The death of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh (Nov., A.D. 1656), and the invasion of his kingdom by Aurangzeb (March, A. D. 1657) freed him from the fear of an attack from the side of Bijāpūr. Some of the Bijāpūr officers, especially Shāhjī, in fact, rendered Śrīranga valuable assistance in the recovery of his possessions.† Nevertheless, Śrīranga failed to realise his object, owing to the sudden change in the attitude of the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa.

The friendly gesture, which 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh made at first to Śrīranga, was dictated by considerations of policy. It may be remembered that Mir Jumla, who joined the Mughals in defiance of his authority and brought trouble upon his kingdom, befriended Śrīranga partly to ensure the safety of his possessions during his absence in the Mughal camp. To entice Śrīranga from this alliance, and cause embarrassment to Mir Jumla by raking up trouble in his rear, 'Abdullah

* Foster: *English Factories In India (1655-60)*, pp. 93, 95, 97-8. † *Ibid*, p. 136.

feigned friendship with the former, and roused his ambition by holding out false hopes of the retrocession of his kingdom. But with the passing away of the Mughal danger, and the disappearance of Mir jumla from the arena of the Deccan politics, the need to placate Śrīranga was over; and the Quṭb Shāh, casting away the mask of friendship, sent his armies to re-establish his authority in Karṇāṭaka. Śrīranga probably came into conflict with the Quṭb Shāhī forces and suffered defeat; for, Candragiri, a fort ceded to him in A.D. 1653 by the Bijāpūr general, Khān Muḥammad passed in A.D. 1658 into the hands of the Quṭb Shāhī officers.* The transference of this fort could not have been effected by peaceful means. The victory of the Quṭb Shāh appears to have been complete and decisive; for, no traces of Śrīranga are found on the east coast subsequent to this date.

The *Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam Kaifiyat* (243), which purports to describe the history of the last days of Śrīranga, states that he retired to Ummattūr between the two Kāvēris, and gradually brought under his control almost the whole of the Mysore country. Though Śrīranga's stay at Ummattūr is not known from other sources, inscriptions of the period bear ample testimony to his sovereignty over Mysore.† He seems to have received considerable help from Śivappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri. The *Śivatattvaratnākara* states that Śivappa captured the fort of Vēlāpurī and handed it over to Śrīranga, who was wandering without a home.‡ The *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* corroborates it. According to this work, Śivappa having resolved to re-establish the kingdom of the Rāya, persuaded the chiefs of Sōde, Bilige, Tarikere, Haripura and other places to join him and marched against Bēlūr in the year Vikāri (A.D. 1659). He laid siege to the fort, and having taken it from the enemy handed it over to Śrīrangarāya, and established the kingdom of the Rāyas.§

* 323 of 1922.

† *E. C.* ix. Ht. 79; v. Bl. 80, 81, 82, 196, Ag. 83, Hn. 39, 40, Mj. 21; iii Sr. 13; vi Cm. 153; xii. Kg. 46.

‡ *Sources*, p. 347.

§ *Keḷadinṛpavijayam* 7, 37.

The veracity of this statement is borne out by the inscriptions dated A.D. 1659, which refer to Śrīranga's rule at Bēlūr.*

Though Śrīranga was forced to seek refuge, for the second time, in the territories of one of his own nobles, he did not relinquish the hope of recovering his kingdom. He collected forces, subdued his neighbouring chiefs, including the Rāja of Mysore and forced them to acknowledge his supremacy.†

Meanwhile, the political condition of Karṇāṭaka seems to have undergone a change favourable to Śrīranga and he appears to have returned to Penugoṇḍa in A.D. 1665. This was probably due to an arrangement with the Quṭb Shāh. The *Saugandhika-prasavāpaharaṇam* (252), a poem dedicated to Rāvilla Linga II, describes an expedition of 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh against Penugoṇḍa, which must have been in the possession of the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr at that time. As Rāvilla Linga obtained for his services in the expedition rewards from the Rāya and his *daḷavāy*, Venkaṭa, and assumed the title of *Narapati-rājya-saṁsthāpaka*, it is not unreasonable to conclude that for some reasons unknown at present 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh befriended Śrīranga and helped him to regain his ancestral capital. This view gains support from the evidence of inscriptions which refer to Śrīranga's rule at Penugoṇḍa from A.D. 1669.‡ Though he continued to rule probably until A.D. 1681, the information pertaining to the last years of his rule is meagre; and no definite conclusions are possible in the present state of our knowledge.

ప్రబల రాజాధిరాజ వీరప్రతాప
రాజపరమేశ్వరార్ధ దుర్గానటేశ
సాహితీ సమరాంగణ సార్వభౌమ
కృష్ణరాయు సమర్పింతుఁ గృతినిగానుము.

* *E.C.* v. Bl. 81, 82. † *E.C.* xii. Kg. 46

‡ *E.C.* x. Ma. 2; ix. Ma. 5, 29, 30.

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